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QUINTUS CURTIUS

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

JOHN C. ROLFE, Litt.D.
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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IN TWO VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I–V

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PREFACE

THE translation is based upon the text of Edmund Hedicke, Leipzig, Teubner, 1908, with a few changes. Numerous alterations have been made in the punctuation, especially in the use of the semi-colon for the colon in accordance with English usage, in not pointing off with commas all relative clauses, regardless of their nature and their connexion with the rest of the sentence, and in the omission (more rarely the addition) of other commas, the presence or absence of which tends to obscure the meaning.

The notes on the text are designed to show the condition and the relation of the manuscripts. They are probably still too numerous (some may say superfluous), but they have been considerably shortened by omitting obvious changes by early editors, especially in proper names, at the risk of robbing some such editor of the honour of a conjecture; also by not recording the most obvious readings of the I-class of codices (see Introd., p. xi).

There are two systems of numbering and citing the text of Curtius, by book, chapter, and section (*e.g.* v. 13. 25 on p. ix, note), and by book, shorter paragraph, and section (*e.g.* for this reference v. 38. 25). The earlier editors cite by the latter system, modern editors by the former; so Hedicke, who however re-

tains the numbers of the shorter paragraphs. In this edition the shorter paragraphs have been omitted.

A map will be found at the end of both volumes and a complete Index (prepared by J. R. Workman, Ph.D.) at the end of Volume II.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA.

JOHN CAREW ROLFE

OCTOBER 15, 1859–MARCH 27, 1943

IT is with a profound sense of a personal loss that the Editors of the Loeb Classical Library record here the death of Professor Rolfe, their collaborator of many years. His editions in the Library of Suetonius, Sallust, Gellius, Nepos and Ammianus bear witness to the breadth of his learning and the conscientiousness of his work. He had read the galley-proofs of both volumes of Curtius at least once and the page proofs of Volume I. The Editors have taken over the work that remained to be done, which consisted in verifying the critical notes under the Text, the references in the notes under the Translation, in seeing that the translation was in harmony with the readings finally adopted and, in a few instances, modifying the translation.

Professor Rolfe was a graduate of Harvard, a Doctor of Philosophy of Cornell, and for thirty years the senior Professor of Latin in the University of Pennsylvania. He had studied much abroad, chiefly in Greece, Italy and Germany. He had long been a member of the American Philosophical Society.

THE EDITORS.

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INTRODUCTION

The Work

Although the brilliant career and complex character of Alexander the Great received frequent mention from Latin writers, in particular the rhetoricians and the historians, only one work in Latin devoted exclusively to his life and exploits has come down to us, and that in an incomplete form. The First and Second of its ten books are wholly lost, and there are extensive gaps at the end of Book V (v. 13. 25,[a] *semivivi ho-*) and the beginning of Book VI (*pugnae discrimen immisit*), and in Book X from x. 1. 45 (*ne Graecia quidem*) to x. 2. 1 (*Igitur triginta navibus*), as well as some lesser *lacunae*. Supplements of the two lost books (I and II) and of the *lacunae* in the existing books were published by J. Freinshem in his editions (Strasburg, 1648 and 1670), who based them upon material furnished by Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Plutarch, and others, and gave more or less full references in many instances to his sources of information. A translation of Freinshem's Summaries of Books I and II in a somewhat abbreviated form is given below (pp. 3-59). Freinshem's filling of the *lacunae* in Books III-X has been repeated by many subsequent editors, either in his original form or with more or less change of wording. Hedicke's

[a] See Preface for manner of reference.

versions belong to the latter class. They have been followed in this edition and *are printed in italics*.

The title of the work is given by Hedicke as *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, which appears in the colophons of codices B and F. Other colophons, and the title of Codex V, have simply *Historiae* and Codex S has *Historiae Magni Macedonis Alexandri*. *Magnus* was applied to Alexander as early as the first century B.C. (Nepos, *De Regibus*, 2).

Manuscripts and Early Editions

The *Historiae* have been preserved in a considerable number of manuscripts, none of which is earlier than the ninth century. All the surviving codices are descended from a single ancient example, originally incomplete, as stated above. Of these the Bernensis (B), Florentinus (F), Leidensis (L), Parisinus (P), and Vossianus (V) are generally regarded as the best. Because of certain corruptions they are commonly divided into two classes. One consists of Parisinus 5716 (P), in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. It was written in Carolingian letters at the beginning of the tenth century, and emended by a *corrector*. In the fourteenth century it was revised in many places by a learned man, who used for the purpose B or a very similar codex; his alterations, additions, and omissions corrupted rather than improved the manuscript. Its last leaves have been torn off and it ends with x. 10. 16, *armisque ponendis*.

The second class is represented by B, F, L, and V. B, Bernensis 451, is now in the Public Library at Berne. It was written in the ninth century in handsome Carolingian letters, and corrected and annotated

at about the same time by another monk, who used an example of the same codex for the purpose. Afterwards there were others who attempted to emend the work of Curtius by corrections, or erasures, or annotations. F, Florentinus, is in the Laurentian Library at Florence (plut. lxiv, cod. 35). It has lost its first quaternion and begins with iii. 10. 6, *vix gladio futurum opus*. It was written in Carolingian letters at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, and revised and annotated by a *corrector*. Later it suffered alterations or erasures from two or three men. L, Leidensis 137, is in the University Library at Leyden. It has lost its last folio and ends with x. 10. 16, *dumtaxat patientem*. It was written in the tenth century, for the most part in Carolingian letters, and revised and annotated by a *corrector*. Unfortunately it was later badly corrupted by alterations, insertions, and omissions by many hands. V, Vossianus, is now in the University Library at Leyden among the *codices Vossiani*, Q. 20. It lacks the last folio and ends with the words *purgavere corpus*. It was written in Carolingian letters of the tenth century, and revised and annotated by a *corrector*. Afterwards, especially in the fifteenth century, it was further emended or corrupted by very many hands.

Although these codices are not lacking in errors, nor wholly free from interpolation, they are nevertheless without the blemish with which all the other extant manuscripts, designated by "I," are disfigured through the excessive lawlessness of their scribes, which makes it impossible to determine which of their readings are derived from their archetype and which are conjectures of the scribe. Each of the codices B, F, L, P, and V has its own merits

and defects, so that no one of them can be wholly neglected. The agreement of both classes gives the reading of their archetype (A). Where they differ, careful consideration is necessary to determine which should be followed, taking into consideration the sense of the passage, the usage of the Latin language, and that of Curtius himself. If no decision can be reached in that way, Hedicke believes that an editor will perhaps be nearest to the truth in following P; this he regards as an inferior example of a better class, and the archetype of B, F, L, and V (C) as a better example of an inferior class. The latter archetype seems to have suffered some revision, since the four codices which are derived from it have marginal notes correcting or explaining the words of Curtius, such as often occur in manuscripts dating from the fall of the Roman empire. It is unfortunate that we have only one example of the former class, and hence cannot judge how many of its errors are due to its archetype and how many to the carelessness of the scribe.

It is highly probable that more manuscripts of this class once existed. Besides the Coloniensis, used by Franciscus Modius in his editions (Cologne, 1579 and 1591), which his notes show to have agreed in many places with P, a few fragments have come down to us of manuscripts of the tenth century whose readings agree with P and differ from those of the other class. These are D, Fragmentum Darmstadiense (cod. 3152), of the tenth century, containing iv. 2. 14, *territoque rege*, to iv. 2. 24, *interficiunt*; E, Frag. Einsidlense (476, folio 36), of the tenth century, containing vii. 1. 34, *-cere homo superbissimus*, to vii. 2. 8, *Amyntan mea sen-*; H, Frag. Herbipolitanum, of the tenth century,

containing viii. 1. 3, *ignarus*, to viii. 1. 7, *super*, and viii. 1. 10, *quae appellatur Bazaira*, to viii. 1. 14, *repulso et abire*. In the same category belongs S, Schedae Vindobonenses, three leaves of a codex now lost, which are preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, 492 (hist. prof. 622). They were written in the tenth century, and contain x. 8. 22, *id inpetratum est*, to the end of the work. Hedicke also somewhat hesitatingly includes R, Excerpta Rhenaugiensia, now in the Public Library at Turin (cod. 95, p. 184); these were written in the ninth century, and although, as Hedicke says, they have almost no value for emendation and load the critical notes with a great number of errors, they pass from one class to the other in a remarkable manner, and even show readings which suggest interpolation. They contain vii. 8. 12, *igitur unum ex*, to vii. 8. 30, *considera*, and viii. 7. 3, *utor inquid beneficio*, to viii. 10. 2, *ducibus usurus*.

All the other codices, designated in the Sigla as "I, codices interpolati," show undoubted indications of interpolation; they often give good readings, but it is impossible to determine whether the readings are due to the skill of an interpolator or to the testimony of a manuscript.

The main difference of opinion has been, whether B, F, L, and V are copies of P, or are from a separate archetype. The latter view is held by Hedicke, who bases his text upon the five codices B, F, L, P, and V, and is now generally accepted. Some help may be gained from certain of the early editions (see the Bibliographical Note). Those of Franciscus Modius, Cologne, 1579 and 1591, contain a rich collection of corrections from Janus Meller Palmer, some of which

seem to have been based upon manuscripts. In the use of Modius's editions great caution is necessary, since, although they are on the whole excellent, they have many doubtful readings, due to an arbitrary treatment of critical problems. In the editions of J. Freinshem, mentioned above, is printed a *Variorum lectionum libellus*, in a more correct form in the edition of 1670; this was used by Snakenburg (Delft and Leyden, 1724) in his *Variantes Lectiones*, but with important inaccuracies. In 1250 (Voss, *De Poetis Latinis*) Bishop Philip Walter (Philippus Gualterus) wrote a poem entitled *Alexandreis*, of which the greater part of the material was taken from Curtius and a number of his phrases and words were embodied in the poem. Among these are many which in the manuscripts of Curtius show corruptions or variants. In some of these all the manuscripts show common corruptions (*e.g.* v. 9. 12). In other places Walter seems to have followed readings which belong only, or mainly, to the inferior class of manuscripts (*e.g.* iv. 10. 27). On the contrary in other places he had before him readings which now are partly in the first class and partly in the majority of manuscripts (*e.g.* iii. 5. 13). The conclusion seems to be justified that in Walter's time the condition of the text of Curtius did not differ essentially from that which appears in our older and younger codices, and that Zumpt's idea, that the text of the interpolated manuscripts was formed in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, is at least improbable. For other early editions see the Bibliographical Note, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

INTRODUCTION

The Sources

While Alexander's expedition was in progress two separate accounts of it were being made ; one was a record of each day's events, the *Ephemerides*, or Day Book, under the supervision of Eumenes of Cardia and Diodotus of Erythrae, the other a finished History by Callisthenes of Olynthus. After Alexander's death several of his contemporaries wrote histories of the expedition. The most important of these were Aristobulus and Ptolemy, son of Lagus, who based their accounts on Callisthenes (see Arrian, *Preface*). All these records, together with a group of histories composed in the next century or two, have been completely lost, except for a few fragments collected by C. Müller in Dübner's *Arrian* (Paris, 1846). There are preserved, wholly or in part, the works of four historians and a biographer, who wrote several centuries after Alexander's death : Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Curtius, and Plutarch. Four of these obtained their information from various sources ; the fifth and best, Arrian, based his account mainly on the histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, hence on Callisthenes and the *Ephemerides*.

Alexander's Itinerary is the name given to a complete list of the places visited by him, collected from the works of the historians and the biographer mentioned above by C. A. Robinson, Jr. (*The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, Providence, Brown University, 1932, pp. 13 ff.). It falls into three divisions. In the first division it is in substantial agreement with the five authorities (they are not equally full, but there are few discrepancies) ; in the second division there are many discrepancies and general confusion ;

in the third divison the authorities and the Itinerary are again in essential agreement. It seems clear that in the first and third divisions the later historians drew from a common source, while in the second they did not. From this Robinson concludes that the *Ephemerides* were available, directly or indirectly, to historians for the first and third divisions, but were completely lost for the second. The first division ends in 327 B.C., the year in which Callisthenes was arrested. Therefore until a short time before his arrest the *Ephemerides* were preserved through Callisthenes. This explains the agreement in the Itinerary thus far, since the historians of Alexander's conquests are based essentially on the work of Callisthenes (Prentice, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* liv. (1927), pp. 74-78), so far as it went. Subsequently, although the secretaries continued to write *Ephemerides*, there was no one present whose task it was to compose a formal history of the expedition, and when, sometime later, the *Ephemerides* were lost, there existed no authoritative source for the second division. In the third division, which extends to the end of the expedition, the various versions of the Itinerary are in essential agreement, for the *Ephemerides*, preserved in this division, form the basis of later accounts.

Arrian in his *Preface* says that he has accepted the statements of Ptolemy and Aristobulus where they agree, and where they disagree he has accepted the more credible, a plan which he does not consistently carry out. Arrian adds that he has incorporated in his narrative some statements of other writers, but he gives them merely as reports of Alexander's action. These, when he adheres to his plan and does not present them as facts, he generally quotes as λεγόμενα.

The most complete quotations from the *Ephemerides* for the last days of Alexander are to be found in Arrian and Plutarch.[a] They did not come directly from the *Ephemerides*, but from someone who was using and quoting them. In other words, Arrian and Plutarch did not quote directly from the *Ephemerides*. A story in Plutarch, *Eumenes* ii. 2-3, shows that the papers of Eumenes were destroyed at the time when Nearchus was about to sail from the Indus to the Persian Gulf (probably in Oct. 326 B.C., Arr. viii. 21, note).

The *Ephemerides* may have been preserved, after the expedition, for the period covered by the third division of the Itinerary, which extends from the second crossing of the Hydaspes to the death of Alexander. This is suggested by a statement of Suidas (*s.v.* Strattis) that Strattis of Olynthus wrote five books about the *Ephemerides* of Alexander, and surely Strattis must have had something to write about; but the proof is the practical agreement of the various narratives of the third division with respect to the actual itinerary. The meagreness of details in this division, in contrast with the first, may be due to the possibility that the *Ephemerides* were no longer in the competent hands of Eumenes, for Arrian (viii. 18. 9) speaks of Evagoras as the accountant of the whole expedition which set out from the Hydaspes. We know from Arrian v. 24. 8 that Eumenes was sent with a military force to two other cities in connexion with the capture of Sangala (*cf.* Nepos, *Eumenes* i. 6; xiii. 1), so that he may have exchanged the position of a secretary for that of commander, although Arrian still speaks of him as Εὐμένη τὸν γραμματέα. Robinson suggests that the *Ephemerides* were collected and

[a] See below, pp. xxx-xxxii.

published, possibly by Strattis, and soon after passed into the general body of literature.

Curtius's principal source is Clitarchus, son of Dinon (Pliny, *N.H.* x. (49) 136), who accompanied Alexander's expedition and wrote a highly coloured account of it. Clitarchus treated the expedition as a brilliant adventure and the king as a tyrant spoiled by Fortune. Curtius used Clitarchus in a changed and contaminated form, perhaps through Timagenes, whom he mentions in viii. 5. 21 in connexion with Clitarchus and Ptolemy. He modelled his style upon Livy, but at times, because of his strong tendency to rhetoric, he has more resemblance to Seneca. His word-order is pointed and studied, with short, pithy sentences and frequent poetic colouring. He differs with Clitarchus in ix. 5. 21 and follows Ptolemy, censuring Clitarchus for carelessness or credulity; *cf.* Cicero, *De Leg.* i. 2. 7 and *Brutus* xi. 42, Quintilian x. 1. 34. That Curtius was not a critical historian is shown by his words in vii. 8. 11 and ix. 1. 34, as well as in other ways.

The Author

The name of the author is restored by Hedicke as Quintus Curtius Rufus and is generally accepted in that form, although some call him simply Quintus Curtius. The nomen and cognomen are found in the title of codex V; B, F, L, and P lack a title. The praenomen is found in the titles of many inferior manuscripts and in the colophons of B, F, L, and P, but not in that of V. It is possible that the cognomen arose from the identification of the author with one of three men, Q. Curtius, Curtius Rufus, and Q. Curtius Rufus, known in the late republican and early

imperial periods. These are a *bonus et eruditus adulescens* who prosecuted Memmius *de Ambitu* (Cic. *Ad Quint. Fratrem* iii. 2); a Q. Curtius Rufus, named in the Index of Suetonius, *De Rhet.* (L.C.L. *Suetonius* ii. p. 395), where he appears between M. Porcius Latro and L. Valerius Primanus; a Curtius Rufus mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 20-21, and by Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 27.

Since the date of Cicero's letter is 55 B.C., it seems hardly probable that the first-named Curtius outlived Augustus. The life of the last-named seems to have fallen in the period of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. It seems improbable that he wrote the *Historiae*, because of the nature of his career, the failure of Tacitus to mention any literary work in his full account of the man, and the inexactness of the author of the *Historiae* in military matters. The Q. Curtius Rufus mentioned by Suetonius may have appeared first under Tiberius (see M. Seneca, *Controv.* ii. 10 and ii. 12 on M. Porcius Latro) and he may have continued to teach under Caligula and Claudius and have lived into the time of Vespasian. That he wrote the *Historiae* at an advanced age under Vespasian, although held by some, seems untenable, since that work shows no signs of the hand of an aged man.

There are two passages in the *Historiae* from which conclusions about the author's date have been drawn. The first is iv. 4. 21, where he says of Tyre: "multis ergo casibus defuncta, et post excidium renata, nunc tamen, longa pace cuncta refovente, sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit." From this passage Niebuhr [a] assigned the writer's time to that of Septimius Severus, who gave Tyre the rights of a colony

[a] *Zwei klassische lateinische Schriftsteller des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 1821.

as a reward for its support in the war against Niger. The condition of Rome when Severus became emperor corresponds in some respects with the conditions related in the second passage (x. 9. 3-6), but *subita serenitas* cannot apply to the battles with Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus, not to mention other objections. Of these it may be emphasized that in the time of Antigonus (315 B.C.) Tyre was able to sustain a siege of fifteen months (Diod. xix. 61. 5).

In considering this question there seems to be no reason to suppose that Curtius composed either passage as an indication of the time at which he was writing, or that he had any idea that such an indication was necessary, unless we are to assume with some (*e.g.* Valens Acidalius, *Animadversiones in Quintum Curtium*, Frankfurt, 1594) that there was a conspiracy of silence with reference to the author of the *Historiae*. If we do assume this, which seems most improbable, although it is true that his work was seldom, if ever, mentioned in ancient times, he certainly could have dated his time more clearly and without resort to the alleged word-play on *cālīgo* and *Cālīgula*. To say nothing of the variations in quantity, *caligo* and *caligare* are frequent in Curtius in their literal sense, and he seldom, if ever, indulges in word-plays.

Apart from the author's purpose in writing it, however, the passage may of course be used to date the work, since it is obviously not from a Greek original and there are no textual variants of importance. It has been understood to refer to the accession of many rulers, from Augustus to Constantine. At present most scholars favour Claudius or Vespasian. The translator, after some hesitation, de-

cides for Claudius on chronological grounds, since there is no indication that the author was advanced in years ; and he is inclined to identify him with the rhetorician named by Suetonius. The *Historiae* seem to be the work of a rhetorician rather than of an historian. One of his principle aims was to insert in his work brilliant speeches and romantic incidents. Doubtless he wished to give a correct account, but his imperfect knowledge of history and geography led him into many errors. His speeches are carefully prepared and are of a high order, although the estimate of Zumpt, quoted by McCrindle (*o.c.* p. 11),[a] that " they are marked with a degree of power and effectiveness which scarcely anything in that species of writing can surpass," seems decidedly too high. Curtius was admired by many great scholars of early times, but of late he can hardly be called a popular writer, in spite of the interest of the *Historiae*. As Rufus is a common cognomen, it is of course possible that a different Q. Curtius Rufus, otherwise unknown, was the author.

The language of the author is an important factor in determining his date. It has been extravagantly praised and unduly criticized. An example of the former is the verdict of McCrindle (*o.c.* p. 10) : " it may also be said that his style for elegance does not fall much short of the perfection of Cicero himself." Opinions about his language differ from that of Zumpt (ed. 1849, pp. xxv f.), who says : " die im Ganzen noch sehr reine, aber doch in einzelnen Dingen schon zum Schlechten sich hinneigende Latinität auf das Zeitalters des Augustus weise," to that of Niebuhr (p. 327 of the work cited), " dass Curtius habe

[a] See Bibliographical Note.

zwar gewandt und glücklich die Manier und Sprache des augustischen Zeitalters, namentlich die des Livius, nachgeahmt, allein mitunter verrathe sich durch einzelne Ausdrücke die späte, eiserne Zeit." What Zumpt says would apply to the times of Claudius or Vespasian as well as to that of Augustus, and that of Niebuhr may be disregarded. The statement of Mützell in his edition (Berlin, 1841) [a] is a fair one in maintaining (p. lxxxvi) : " dass der sprachliche Stoff bei Curtius in etymologischer, lexicalischer, und syntactischer Hinsicht mit wenigen nicht eben wesentlichen Ausnahmen noch entschieden den Charakter der Klassicität trägt, dass dagegen die rhetorische Behandlung desselben den nachtheiligen Einfluss, den der Bildungsgang des Schriftstellers und der weniger strenge und reine Geschmack des Zeitalters auf die gesammte Darstellung haben musste, sehr bestimmt erkennen lässt." This opinion Mützell supports by numerous notes in his commentary. It seems possible that a more minute study of the language and style of Curtius might lead to some results, as well as further study of his clausulae. A beginning of the latter study was begun by Pichon (*Revue de Phil.* xxx. pp. 90 ff.), based upon metrical clausulae, with no very decisive results. There seem to be not a few indications of accentual clausulae, as in Ammianus, and it has already been observed that these antedate the time of Ammianus.

Macedonia

Macedonia played no important part in the history of Greece until Philip II, son of Amyntas and father of Alexander the Great, became its king in 359 B.C.

[a] See Bibliographical Note.

In early times it was a small hereditary kingdom, situated north of Thessaly and Mount Olympus, east of the Shar range containing Mount Pindus, and west of the river Axius, not including Paeonia to the north and the coastline to the south. It was the basis of a river system flowing through broad plains separated by high mountains and making their way in three parallel lines to the sea. The rivers hindered the populace from uniting, but furnished access to the sea.

Various mythical genealogies derived the name Macedon from Macednus, son of Lycaon, from whom the Arcadians were descended (Apollodorus iii. 8. 1), or identified the Macedonians with the Dorians (Hdt. i. 56). These and others of the kind were merely attempts to connect this semi-barbarous people with the rest of the Hellenic race. They were surrounded by Illyrians, Thracians, and Epirotes, but were an Aryan people, most closely resembling the Thessalians and other ruder members of the Greek race. Their native language most resembled that of the Thessalians. Whether Macedonia as a whole was closely akin to Hellenic stock is an uncertain and probably insoluble question, but the royal stock was in part of Hellenic blood.

The Macedonians gradually extended their frontiers to the west and south, but did not yet reach the sea (Thuc. ii. 99 ; Hdt. viii. 138). Their country was divided into Upper and Lower (or Highland and Lowland) Macedonia. The latter became famous through the energy of the dynasty of Edessa (in the small plain between Mount Bermion and the Axius), later called Aegae, who called themselves Heraclids and traced their descent to the Temenidae of Argos through Caranus. He, before the first Olympiad,

made an expedition from Argos into Macedonia, and because of aid rendered to the king of the Orestae against the Eordenses was given a part of his kingdom (Diod. vii. 16. 2). Little was known of them before the reign of Amyntas (520–500 B.C.), the fifth successor of Perdiccas I, who pushed his way from Aegae into Lower Macedonia in the seventh century B.C.; but further advance was prevented for a whole century by constant wars with the Illyrians, who not only attacked the frontiers, but formed a great part of the population and obstinately opposed the adoption of Hellenic manners of life.

The son of Amyntas, Alexander Philhellen (*c.* 480 B.C.), was a contemporary and to certain extent an ally of Xerxes. He presented himself as a contestant in the Olympic Games and was accepted after he had succeeded in proving his Argive descent by way of Caranus. He and his son, Perdiccas II, because of the fall of the Persian power in Thrace, gradually extended their dominion as far as the river Strymon (modern Struma). Perdiccas made Pella his capital. He was at first an ally of Athens, but became her active enemy. He was succeeded by his son Archelaüs (415–399), who first established fortresses and built roads. He also formed a Macedonian army and intended to procure a navy (Solin. ix. 17). He had tragedies of Euripides acted at his court under that poet's direction and adorned his palace with paintings by Zeuxis (Ael. *Var. Hist.* xiv. 7). For some generations the court language was Attic Greek. Archelaüs met a violent death in 399 B.C. (Diod. xiv. 37. 5), and his son Orestes was made king under the regency of Aëropus. The period from 399 to 369 is one of confusion and dis-

order, and little more than the names of the kings is known. Aëropus after four years killed his ward and reigned in his place for two years. He was succeeded by his son Pausanias, who after two years was assassinated and succeeded by Amyntas, who was obliged to cede all the country around the Thermaic Gulf to Olynthus (Diod. xv. 19. 3). Amyntas, who was a dependent, if not a tributary of Jason, *tagus* of Thessaly, died at about the same time as Jason (370 B.C.), and was succeeded by his young son Alexander II, who was assassinated after two years. Eurydicê, widow of Amyntas, with her two sons, Perdiccas III and Philip, took refuge with Iphicrates, who secured the throne of Macedonia to the family of Amyntas (360–359; Nepos, *Iphicrates* iii. 3). Pelopidas placed a regent over Perdiccas and carried off Philip, then fifteen years old, as a hostage to Thebes, where he profited by the friendship of Epaminondas. He introduced military improvements, making the Macedonian phalanx a more solid version of the Theban and supporting it by charging cavalry. Perdiccas was slain in battle with the Illyrians in 359 B.C. and succeeded by Philip II, who ruled until 336 B.C. (Diod. xvi. 1. 3).

Philip made his little barbarian[a] kingdom into a powerful nation. He trained his son to carry out his policy and plans. For his war with the Athenians and his victory at Chaeronea, his appointment as Commander of the Greeks in an expedition against the Persians, his marriage with Cleopatra and quarrel with Alexander, his assassination in 336 B.C. and the condition of his kingdom at the time of his death, see the Summary of Book I (pp. 15-18).

[a] *Cf.* the words of Alexander in x. 2. 23 and in Arr. vii. 9. 2–3.

Alexander

For his early life and education and his career until the beginning of Book III see the Summaries of Books I and II (pp. 3-59). The dates of his expedition involve difficulties from the year 331 B.C., when he defeated Darius at Gaugamela, to his recrossing of the Hindu Kush in 327. There is difference of opinion as to the years 330–329 and 328–327, involving Alexander's first crossing of the Hindu Kush. This question has been discussed by Hogarth [a] and Tarn [a] and most recently by Robinson,[a] who summarizes the views of Hogarth and Tarn and offers a new theory of his own. The evidence for the period 330–327 is as follows: Alexander, setting out from Persepolis some time in 330, resumed the pursuit of Darius and found his murdered body near Shahrud. Then after a delay in the region of the Caspian he turned south into Seistan, and marched in deep snow (Arr. iii. 28. 1 f.) through the land of the Arachotae, and arrived at the southern foot of the Hindu Kush. Here Strabo (xv. pp. 724-725) says that he established winter quarters and built a city (Alexandria ad Caucasum). He crossed the range into Bactra before the snow was yet out of the passes (Arr. iii. 28. 9), *i.e.* in the early spring of 329, crossed the Oxus in pursuit of Bessus, and halted at Maracanda. From there he went to the Iaxartes, and carried on a vigorous campaign in the surrounding neighbourhood. He then proceeded to Maracanda and Zariaspa. He remained in Zariaspa "until the depth of winter passed" (Arr. iv. 7. 1). Arrian does not mention the coming of spring, but says that Alexander recrossed

[a] See Bibliographical Note.

the Oxus, swept the country as far as Maracanda, and carried on a campaign for some time, chiefly against Spitamenes. He then had his army rest at Nautaca "for what was about the depth of the winter" (Arr. iv. 18. 2). On the approach of spring Alexander left Nautaca and resumed operations against the "rocks," went to Bactra, and in the early summer of 327 recrossed the Hindu Kush.

From this evidence it would seem that Alexander passed through the land of the Parapanisadae (roughly the Cabul valley) in November (*i.e.* just after the setting of the Pleiades), spent the winter of 330–329 at the south foot of the Hindu Kush, the winter of 329–328 at Zariaspa, and that of 328–327 at Nautaca. Hogarth first pointed out that it was impossible for Alexander, leaving the Caspian in October 330, as is generally assumed, to reach the Hindu Kush by the winter of 330–329. He therefore places Alexander in Seistan for the winter of 330–329, in Cabul (the land of the Parapanisadae) in November 329, and at the foot of the Hindu Kush that winter. This leaves the winter of 328–327 to be accounted for, with both Zariaspa and Nautaca mentioned by Arrian as winter quarters. Hogarth maintains that but one winter is referred to and divides the winter between the two towns. Tarn says that Alexander apparently never took winter quarters at all in 330–329, but in the spring of 329 had reached the Cabul valley, thus meeting Hogarth's objection of distance. Accepting the obvious meaning of Arrian, he assigns the winters of 329–328 and 328–327 to Zariaspa and Nautaca respectively. The arguments against Hogarth are that there is absolutely no evidence that Alexander spent a winter in Seistan, and there are difficulties in

assuming that only one winter was spent in Zariaspa-Nautaca. He made an important contribution to the subject by pointing out that Alexander, leaving Zadracarta in November, could not possibly have reached the Hindu Kush, as had been previously believed, by December. Robinson agrees with Hogarth that the obvious meaning of Arrian and Strabo is that Alexander was in the Cabul valley in November and took up winter quarters at the south foot of the Hindu Kush, and with Tarn that Arrian's later account simply means that Alexander spent one winter in Zariaspa and the next at Nautaca. He does not agree with Hogarth that Alexander spent a winter in Seistan before the one at the Hindu Kush and divided a winter between Zariaspa and Nautaca; nor with Tarn that Alexander did not reach the Hindu Kush until the spring of 329. To meet the very serious objection of Hogarth that Alexander, leaving Zadracarta in October, could hardly reach the Hindu Kush that winter, Robinson raises the question whether Alexander really did leave Zadracarta in October. Hogarth (p. 289) gives the following table from Gaugamela:

March to Babylon	at least	40 days	
Halt in Babylon		34 ,,	(Curt. v. 1. 39; Justin xi. 14)
March to Susa		20 ,,	(Arr. iii. 16. 7)
Stay in Susa		x ,,	
March to Persepolis		30 ,,	
Stay in Persepolis		120 ,,	(Plut. *Alex.* 37. 3)
March to Ecbatana		$12+x$,,	(Arr. iii. 19. 3)
Stay in Ecbatana		x ,,	
March to Rhagae		11 ,,	(Arr. iii. 20. 2)
Stay in Rhagae		5 ,,	(Arr. iii. 20. 3)
Last stages of pursuit		5 ,,	(Arr. iii. 21)
Total		$277+x$ days	

His conclusion is that the death of Darius took place near Shahrud about the 300th day after Gaugamela, *i.e.*, at the very end of July or beginning of August, 330. This corresponds with Arrian's statement (iii. 22. 2) that the month of the murder was the Attic Hecatombaeon. But the month-dates of Arrian are uncertain, as Hogarth warns us two pages before (p. 287). The only point in this table that can be questioned is Plutarch's statement that Alexander remained in Persia four months. The question is whether we ought to believe this single statement of Plutarch or the evidence of Arrian (supported incidentally by Strabo). If we accept the four months of Plutarch, then Darius' death must have occurred in midsummer, 330, and we are unable to accept Arrian's statements that Alexander reached the Hindu Kush that winter and spent a winter respectively in Zariaspa and Nautaca. But if we assume that Plutarch exaggerated the length of Alexander's stay in Persia, then Darius' death will fall early enough in 330 to allow Alexander time to reach the Hindu Kush that winter and to spend the next two winters at Zariaspa and Nautaca respectively. The latter is the alternative which Robinson accepts. He shortens Alexander's stay in Persia to seven weeks, which he regards as a more reasonable time for a man of action, and Arrian (iii. 20. 1) tells us that when Alexander did start, he pressed on with the utmost vigour. Robinson's conclusion is illustrated by the following table:

Alexander	reaches Persia . . . early February,	330
,,	leaves Persia . . . end of March,	330
,,	overtakes Darius . . . early May,	330
,,	leaves Zadracarta . . . middle of June,	330

Alexander reaches Candahar . . . early November, 330
,, establishes winter quarters at the southern foot of the Hindu Kush . . . middle of December, 330
,, crosses the Hindu Kush . . . early spring, 329
,, takes up winter quarters at Zariaspa . . . winter of 329–328
,, campaigns in Sogdiana . . . summer of 328
,, takes up winter quarters at Nautaca . . . winter of 328–327
,, recrosses the Hindu Kush . . . early summer, 327

This seems to be the only arrangement which fits Arrian's statements. The statement of Plutarch may be neglected, as unreasonable, and in the light of his general account of the stay in Persia, which Robinson (p. 78) calls "worthless."

There is also a slight difference of opinion as to the day of Alexander's death. Arrian and Plutarch give the most complete quotations from the *Ephemerides* for the last days of Alexander, taking them, not from the *Ephemerides* directly, but from someone who was using and quoting from them. Arrian's account is fuller than that of Plutarch, but he does not specify the days by dates, but simply says "on the next day." It is possible, however, to arrange his whole account into a day-by-day record from his banquet with Medius to the day of Alexander's death, with only three exceptions. The first of these is the day which Robinson designates in his Itinerary (p. 65) as the 18th. It is obviously subsequent to the 17th, for Alexander has slept in the bathroom (as Plutarch also says) after a long night of drinking, and then is carried to the sacrifices. There is no indication from the rather complete account of the eighteenth day that the activities of more than one day are here

described. After the sacrifices Alexander lay in the banqueting-hall, where he discussed plans with his officers, and then, when the heat of the day was over, crossed the river to the park. The second exception is the day which Robinson has called the 25th. There is no definite break in Arrian's account between this and the preceding day. Arrian says that on the next day (the 24th) Alexander, although very ill, offered the sacrifices. He then gave orders for the generals to remain in the court, and the taxiarchs and pentakosiarchs to spend the night outside. Turning to Plutarch, we find the content of his account and almost the very wording to be the same. Certainly this part of Arrian must be equated with the 24th day of Plutarch. Arrian, continuing, says that "Alexander, being now in a dangerous condition, was brought from the park to the palace. When his officers entered the room, he knew them, but no longer spoke, being speechless." Surely this is the same day as described by Plutarch: "on the 25th, he was carried to the palace on the other side. He slept a little, but the fever did not abate. When his officers came to him he was speechless." The third exception is the day of Alexander's death. At first glance it is not obvious from Arrian whether Alexander died on the day called by Robinson the 27th or one or more days later. But at least one night intervenes between this day and the day of his death, for Attalus, Seleucus, and others slept in the temple of Serapis and asked the god certain questions. The companions reported the answers of the god, says Arrian, and not much later Alexander died. It is perhaps safe to assert that by this day Arrian meant the 28th. Plutarch tells of two days' celebration

before he states that he is quoting from the *Ephemerides*. He begins his explicit quotations on the 18th day of the month Daesius and records each day thereafter with just two exceptions. The first is the 23rd, which for some reason Plutarch does not mention. The second is the 27th, but just before it he gives the date 26th and just after it the date 28th. Arrian supplies the needed division. Hence, according to Arrian, he died on the 28th.

Bibliographical Note

The *editio princeps* of Curtius was published at Venice in 1470 or 1471 by Vindelinus Spirensis. It was followed by that of Bartolomeo Merula (Venice, 1494); according to Zumpt (Braunschweig, 1849, praef., p. xii), Merula merely corrected some conspicuous errors in the *editio princeps*, but left many uncorrected. Of about the same date are the Romana of 1472 and the Mediolanensis of 1475. The Aldine edition of Franciscus Asulanus was printed in July 1518 and corrected many errors. Its text was based partly upon manuscripts and partly on conjectures, in which with regard to proper names Arrian was of great service.

The editions of Modius and Freinshem have been mentioned above (pp. xiii, xiv). Other early editions are those of Snakenburg (Delft and Leyden, 1724); Cunze, vol. i., Helmstadt, 1802, useful for Books IV and V, but unfortunately not completed; of Schmieder, Göttingen, 1803, whose text is followed in the Delphin Edition (Valpy, London, 1825); of N. E. Lemaire (Paris, 1822–1824), which does not justify his statement, "textum ad fidem codicum

regiae Parisinae bibliothecae recensui, cum varietate lectionum." The edition of Julius Mützell, Berlin, 1841, has a full introduction and commentary, and extensive quotations from early travellers in the countries visited by Alexander. That of Th. Vogel (Leipzig, 1889–1903) appeared in a second edition of two volumes in 1906.

Curtius from viii. 9 through ix. 10 is translated into English by J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (A. Constable, Westminster, 1896). There is an English translation of the entire work by P. Pratt (1821) and a German translation in three volumes by A. H. Christian, Stuttgart, 1855–1875. The French translation of De Vogelas (Paris, 1653), on which he spent thirty years, has been pronounced to be as inimitable as Alexander was invincible. It indeed ranks high as literature, but it is not a close version of the Latin, and in places is a paraphrase rather than a translation, although even in such cases it often gives a valuable and sometimes necessary clue to the meaning.

Of many other works (besides those listed in Notes) may be mentioned: D. G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, New York, 1897; Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander der Grosse*, Leipzig, 1931; Otto Hoffman, *Die Macedonen*, Göttingen, 1906; Georges Radet, *Alexander le Grand*, Paris, 1931; E. Iliff Robson, *Alexander the Great*, London, 1929; Lewis V. Cummings, *Alexander the Great*, Boston, 1941; W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, Cambridge, 1939; Sir Percy Sykes, *History of Afghanistan*, London, 1940; R. Novák, *Spicilegium Curtianum*, from *Ceske Museum filologike*, vol. v., Prague, 1899; W. W. Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. vi., chapters xi. and

xii. (with good bibliography and maps); J. J. Bernouilli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen*, 1905; *Chicago Oriental Institute* (with Univ. of Pennsylvania and Boston Museum of Fine Arts), Aerial Survey Expeditions: *The Persepolis Expedition*, by Erich F. Schmidt, 1941. (A less costly work is *The Pageant of Persepolis* by Henry Filmer); *The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology*, No. 13 (Biographies and Portraits of Statesmen, especially of Alexander the Great), Baltimore.

SIGLA [a]

A = Codices B F L P S V, either all or as many as are preserved in each place.
B = Codex Bernensis 451, tenth century.
C = Codices B F L V, either all or as many as are preserved in each place.
D = Fragmentum Darmstadiense (cod. 3152), tenth century.
E = Fragmentum Einsidlense (cod. 476, folio 36), tenth century.
F = Codex Florentinus (plut. lxiii, cod. 35), eleventh century.
H = Fragmentum Herbipolitanum, tenth century.
I = Codices interpolati.
L = Codex Leidensis, 137, tenth century.
P = Codex Parisinus, 5716, ninth century.
R = Excerpta Rhenaugiensia (cod. 95, p. 184).
S = Schedae Vindobonenses, 492 (hist. prof. 622), tenth century.
V = Codex Vossianus, Q. 20, tenth century.

[a] For a fuller description of the manuscripts see pp. x-xiv.

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

SUMMARIES[a]

BOOK I

Many Greeks have written of the life and deeds of Alexander, who took from the Persians their empire and transferred it to Greece. Some of these were witnesses of his exploits, some even his companions and officers (*Arr. i.*, praef.). *Being eager for glory and for the perpetuation of his memory, he summoned some, for example Callisthenes of Olynthus, for the very purpose of transmitting his history to posterity* (*Justin xii. 6. 7*). *Besides the greatness of his exploits, the innate love of the Greeks for fable led some of them to record marvels rather than sober history. Ptolemy, who was afterwards king of Egypt, and Aristobulus seem to be the most trustworthy* (*Arr.* l.c.). *When they agree, I have preferred their account to that of the rest; when they differ, I have taken from the abundance of material those things which seemed nearest to the truth. This practice the Greeks who had some regard for the truth, after Alexander's day, seem to have followed, and lately Diodorus of Sicily.*

Those of the Romans who have given attention to history, content with the affairs of their own nation, have neglected those of others; for the deeds of a victorious people furnished an abundance of material, which seemed

[a] The Summaries of the lost Books I and II are based upon those in the editions of J. Freinshem, Strasburg, 1648 and 1670. Those of III-X are the translator's.

likely to be more useful to their fellow-citizens. Nevertheless, I believe that I shall be free from reproach if I shall make known to my country that king who in the shortest time conquered the greatest extent of territory, and if I shall show that, in general, success corresponds with character, and that no good fortune is lasting which lacks virtue.

I find that Alexander possessed in abundance all the gifts of character and fortune with which a man fated to have a power so great ought to be endowed. He was the son of Philip and Olympias, of whom the former in a continuous series of wars had made the hitherto obscure people of Macedonia formidable to all men, prepared the foundation for works done after his time, made ready for an invasion of Persia, and through Parmenion had already opened Asia (Curt. vii. 1. 3). Alexander's birth was preceded and attended by portents. Many even believed that he was the son of Jupiter,[a] *who had assumed the form of a serpent and lain with Olympias (Plut.* Alex. *ii. 4; Justin xi. 11. 3). She, however, in a letter*[b] *to her son (Gell. xiii. 4. 2) begged him not to expose her to Juno's hatred as her husband's paramour. On the night when he was born the temple of the Ephesian Diana was destroyed by fire (Cic.* Nat. Deor. *ii. 27. 69; Plut.* Alex. *iii. 3), which the Magi interpreted as meaning that a firebrand had appeared somewhere, by which the whole Orient would be destroyed. It happened that at the same time Philip subdued Potidaea, a colony of the Athenians, and received news both of the victory of one of his chariots at Olympia and of the defeat of the Illyrians in a great battle.*

Alexander was born at the beginning of the sixth

[a] *i.e.* Zeus; Freinshem has followed Curtius in using the Roman names.

[b] The letter is of course not genuine.

Olympiad after the one hundredth (*356* B.C.) *when Elpines was Archon at Athens, on the 21st day of July, the month which the Macedonians of that time called Lous* (*Plut.* Alex. l.c.; *Gell. xvii. 21. 28*). *Philip, having the highest hopes of his son because of so many omens, directed all his thoughts to his education and care; for, being a wise man and devoted to his country, he knew that all his toil would amount to nothing if he left an ignorant or slothful successor. There are among his letters, which are full of grace and of wisdom, one which he sent to Athens at that time addressed to Aristotle* (*Gell. ix. 3*), *reading about as follows*[a]: "*Philip greets Aristotle. Know that a son is born to me. I thank the gods, not so much that he is born, as that it is his good fortune to be born in your lifetime. I hope that as a result of your training he will prove worthy of us and of succeeding to so great a kingdom. For I think it is better to lack children than to have begotten them for the dishonour of their ancestors.*"

And Philip was not mistaken; the boy for a long time had Aristotle for his teacher and thus received the greatest help for doing such great deeds at the proper time. But this happened later; meanwhile the child's teachers and guardians were Leonidas, a relative of Olympias, and Lysimachus, an Acarnanian. Philip, also an Acarnanian (*Curt. iii. 6. 1*), *was joined with them, to look after his health; to Hellanicê, the daughter of Dropides, a member of one of the best families of the Macedonians, was given the duties of a nurse approved by a good person and morals* (*Curt. viii. 1. 21; Arr. iv. 9. 1, who calls her Lanicê*). *From such care it resulted that within a few years he already gave promise of being the king which he afterwards became; for his boyish frame foretold*

[a] The letter is of course not genuine.

invincible strength, and signs of an indomitable spirit were far in advance of his time of life. Excelling in native grace of person, he scorned adornment, saying that anxious care for beauty was suitable for women, who were commended by no other endowment; that he would be sufficiently handsome if he should achieve virtue.

When he grew up, he was conspicuous for a well-proportioned body, strong and remarkably solid limbs, surpassing rather in strength than in beauty; for he was not tall (*Curt. iii. 12. 6; v. 2. 13*). *His skin was white and fair, except for a handsome flush on his cheeks and also on his breast; his hair was golden and slightly curling; his nose was aquiline; his eyes did not match, for his left eye is said to have been grey and the other very black; and they had a kind of hidden power, so that those who looked at him felt veneration and sometimes dread. He was wonderfully swift of foot and his endurance of toil was beyond belief; by this he found safety in times of difficulty for himself and his army. He kept himself in such condition by frequent exercise that his breath and limbs had a pleasant odour, which even pervaded the garments which he wore* (*Plut.* Alex. *iv. 2*). *He took pains that the attractiveness of his face should not be marred by the work of inferior artists; Apelles alone had permission to paint his portrait, Pyrgoteles to represent him in marble, Polyclitus and Lysippus in bronze* (*Hor.* Epist. *ii. 1. 237 ff.*). *They say that his preceptor Leonidas had the fault of walking too rapidly and that Alexander contracted the habit from him; but I am inclined to attribute this characteristic rather to the nature of the man than to habit; for in one of rapid thought it was inevitable that the motions of his body should follow those of his mind. This his successors were so far from regarding as a defect that they imitated it, as well as the inclining of*

his neck towards his left shoulder (*Plut.* Alex. *4. 1*), *his steady gaze, and his high-pitched voice, since they could not imitate his mental qualities.*

Although he was eager for praise, he did not seek it from any and every source, but rejoiced to be compared with the best (*Plut.* Alex. *iv. 5*). *Therefore to those who said that since he excelled in running he ought to enter his name among the contestants in the Olympic Games, after the example of a king of the same name as himself* (*Justin vii. 2. 14*), *he replied : " I would do it, if I had kings as competitors "* (*Plut.* Alex. l.c.). *Whenever Philip had been victorious in a famous battle or had reduced any powerful city and others rejoiced, he was heard to complain among his contemporaries that his father would leave nothing for him or for them to do when they had grown up* (*Plut.* Alex. *v. 2*). *Being most sparing of sleep, he had a device for aiding wakefulness. Holding in his grasp a silver ball, he stretched his arm over a bronze basin beside his couch, so that when the coming of sleep relaxed the tension of his muscles, the clang of the ball as it fell might awaken him* (*Amm. xvi. 5. 4*). *He worshipped the gods magnificently from his early youth and used incense so lavishly that Leonidas, who was austere and frugal, exclaimed : " Make offerings like these when you have subdued the region where such things grow." Mindful of these words, when he subdued*[a] *incense-bearing Arabia he sent many talents' weight of perfumes to Leonidas* (*Plut.* Alex. *xxv. 4 f.*) *with instructions not to be too stingy thereafter in honouring the gods, since he knew that they repaid so generously gifts cheerfully offered.*

The young prince early gave indications of a lofty spirit which would undertake great deeds. When he was

[a] He never " subdued " Arabia. He made a " commando " raid on that country during the siege of Tyre (iv. 3. 1, 7).

less than seven years old, Artabazus and Menapis, satraps of Ochus, king of the Persians, and Memnon of Rhodes, a great general, were defeated in war with Darius and took refuge with Philip (*Diod. xvi. 52. 3; Curt. vi. 5. 2*). *Alexander asked these men many questions about Persian affairs, nothing that was childish or common, but on what foundations the royal power was based, what arms they made use of, how many days' march Susa was distant from Ecbatana, and other queries of the kind* (*Plut.* Alex. *v. 1*). *Afterwards, when Ochus had become reconciled with the exiles and had recalled them, they felt such admiration for Alexander that one of them could not keep from exclaiming: "This boy is a great king; ours is a rich prince"* (*Plut.* De Fort. Alex. *ii. 28*).

While Alexander seemed to owe these qualities to the excellence of his nature, he was no less indebted to his education. For his father, knowing well how advantageous association with Epaminondas had been to himself (*Diod. xvi. 2 ff.*). *and how much more he accomplished by eloquence than by force, had made the greatest effort to have his son trained in the liberal arts. Accordingly he induced Aristotle, by the offer of great rewards, to instruct the boy in the elements of letters* (*Quint.* Inst. *i. 1. 23*). *And that learned man did not refuse, knowing as he did how important it was for one who was to rule over many men to be properly taught from the beginning. Then, enjoying various teachers according to the excellence of each in a special art, the young prince not only filled his mind with noble sciences, but by exercises of every kind he trained his body to the service of war and the endurance of toil. After he grew older, he continued to have Aristotle constantly with him until he crossed into Asia. In that space of time he thoroughly learned whatever could be communicated by so great a teacher. He applied himself*

especially to the study of nature, and later he aided the investigation of Natural History in a truly royal spirit and with a princely expenditure of money. To Aristotle, in order that he might be able to write with greater knowledge of the nature of animals, he ordered all Greece and Asia to be obedient (Plin. N.H. *viii. 16 (44)),*[a] *as well as all men who gained a livelihood by hunting, fowling, or fishing, or had attained some skill in those pursuits. It is well known that the philosopher received 800 talents for the expenses of such work. Alexander himself gave to that study money and care of which he would never see the fruits. A hundred years after his time stags were caught with golden collars, which he had put upon them in order that future generations might know how much belief could be given to the reports which were made of the long life of those animals (Plin.* N.H. *viii. 50 (119)).*[a] *Also in the loftier sciences which are called acroatic, or acroamatic, we have testimony to his knowledge in a letter of his to Aristotle (Gell. xx. 5. 8; Plut.* Alex. *7. 3 ff.), in which he complains that Aristotle has profaned their majesty by making his instruction generally known. And Aristotle excused himself by saying that those books had been given to the public in such a way that no one would be able to understand them who had not learned beforehand what was contained in them. Also when Alexander asked for his* Rhetoric, *he expressly forbade Aristotle to allow it to come into the hands of others; for he desired to surpass all men not less in the noble arts than in power.*

Not only during Alexander's rule did Aristotle receive distinguished honour and great gifts, but also while Philip still lived; for when Philip captured Olynthus and razed the cities under its sway, Aristotle was allowed to rebuild his birthplace, Stagira, and was furnished by the king

[a] References like (44) and (119) are to the marginal sections.

with money for the purpose (*Plut.* Alex. *vii. 2*). *Alexander also venerated his teacher, until finally he became his enemy after the death of Callisthenes* (*Plut.* Alex. *viii. 2*).

Alexander also loved music and gave serious attention to it, until he was asked by his father if he was not ashamed to sing so well, whereupon he began to neglect singing, as an art unbecoming his dignity. Once when his teacher of music asked him to strike a certain string, as the art required, Alexander said: "What difference does it make if I strike this one?", pointing his finger to another string. And the teacher replied that it made no difference to one who was going to be a king, but that it did make a difference to one who was going to be a player on the lute (*Ael.* V.H. *iii. 32*). *After that he took pleasure in manly singing and particularly favoured Timotheüs* (*Suidas*, s.v.), *who was famous for that kind of music; for with the mode which they call "Phrygian" he sometimes so aroused Alexander that he at once ran to arms, as if the enemy were near. Alexander studied eloquence under Anaximenes of Lampsacus, and this later brought safety to that city. Alexander had determined to destroy it because it had favoured the Persian power. Seeing Anaximenes coming out beyond the walls, and feeling sure that he had come to appeal for his native city, Alexander called the gods of Greece to witness that he would not do what his teacher should ask. On hearing this the clever philosopher asked him to destroy Lampsacus, and Alexander, bound by the sanctity of his oath, and not less pleased by the cleverness of his former master, pardoned the people of Lampsacus for their faults* (*Val. Max. vii. 3, Ext. 4*). *He scorned comedians as not treating subjects suited to his purpose and born only to corrupt men's morals* (*Plut.* Alex. *iv. 6*), *and, although they were rated high in all Greece, he cared nothing for boxers, probably*

because being idle and devoted to food they used their strong bodies rather for the amusements of shows than for the needs of their country.

He so venerated Homer that he was called amator Homeri (*Strabo xiii. 1. 27, p. 594; Eustath.* ad Iliad. *B*). *He always carried with him a copy of the poet's works, in the recension of Aristotle, called the* Iliad of the Casket (*Plut.* Alex. *xxvi. 1*), *and placed it under his pillow when he slept* (*Plut.* Alex. *viii. 2*). *He regarded Achilles as happy, because he had had such a herald of his valour* (*Cic.* Pro Arch. *10. 24*). *Once when a messenger arrived, showing signs of great joy in his expression, Alexander said: "What are you going to announce to me which is worthy of such happiness, unless perhaps Homer has come to life?" He especially liked the verse in which Agamemnon is praised as a good commander and a strong soldier* (Iliad *iii. 179*).

He was fond of wine, but not to the extent of drunkenness (*Plut.* Alex. *xxiii. 1; Arr. vii. 29. 4*). *When he had leisure, he remained long at table, but rather for social intercourse than for excessive drinking. He scorned sensual pleasures to such an extent that his mother was anxious lest he might be unable to beget offspring. This manner of life he continued for a long time, and showed himself a great and noteworthy king; gradually, however, carried away by his good fortune, he changed his habits and lost his former self-control.*

In his youth he showed his strength of spirit and remarkable dexterity by taming the horse Bucephalas, to the great admiration of his father and all others who saw it. This horse was so named because it was branded with the figure of a bull, or perhaps because it had a white mark like an ox-head on its own black head (*Arr. v. 19. 5*). *It was sold to Philip for sixteen talents* (*Plut.* Alex. *vi.*), *but*

no one could ride it until Alexander succeeded in so doing. It was afterwards Alexander's warhorse until it was killed (Arr. v. 14. 4), or died of exhaustion (Arr. v. 19. 4), in the battle with Porus at the Hydaspes.

Alexander began his military service at the age of sixteen by being left in full charge of Macedonia when Philip was besieging Byzantium (Plut. Alex. *ix. 1). The Medari, a Thracian people, rebelled, but were overcome by the young prince; he expelled them from their city and gave it to strangers, who called it Alexandropolis (Stephanus,* s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια). *Philip was pleased at his son's success, but recalled him for fear that he might undertake too much; but he made use of Alexander's vigorous services in subduing the towns of the Chersonesus. In a mutiny of the Greek mercenaries in Philip's army Philip was severely wounded and his horse was killed under him. Alexander covered the king with his shield, slew some of his assailants, and put the rest to flight (Curt. viii. 1. 24).*

Philip was now at the height of his power; he had subdued the Triballi and had under his sway Thrace and the Greek states except Sparta. Aiming at the leadership of all Greece, he realized that the power of the Athenians especially delayed his plans; for although there were some in Athens who favoured his designs, yet the people, who were all-powerful, opposed the growth of the Macedonian influence, especially through the persuasions of Demosthenes. The king was particularly roused against them (Diod. xvi. 54. 2) because his hopes at Byzantium has been disappointed mainly through the aid given to that city by the Athenians; for they had not only sent a fleet of 120 ships to help the enemy, but had been the cause of similar conduct on the part of the Chians and the Rhodians. Therefore, while his wound was being cured in the land of

the Triballi, he was secretly making every preparation for an unexpected attack on the Athenians, and was retaining his army under pretext that the Illyrian nations, who were naturally savage and unaccustomed to slavery, were trying to throw off the yoke that had been imposed upon them. Alexander was sent against the Illyrians (*Curt. viii. 1. 25*), *defeated them, and put them to flight, thus inspiring in others, and himself feeling, such confidence in his fortune and his valour that he seemed capable of undertaking great enterprises without his father's aid.*

Philip, having made all his preparations, thought that the time had come to carry out his plans. Accordingly, he led his army into Greece and summoned all the forces of his allies from the Peloponnesus. For by a decree of the Amphictyons he had been made commander of the Greeks, that he might punish the insolence of the Locrians dwelling in Amphissa; they, disregarding the authority of the Amphictyons, had persisted in occupying the land of Cirrha, which was consecrated to Apollo. Philip at that time had a treaty with the Athenians, but they thought that it would have little force if he saw advantage in violating it. They therefore sent envoys to him, asking that he should stand by the treaty, adding that the Athenians would consider how the differences which had arisen between them could be reconciled. They also sent an embassy to Thebes, to urge the Thebans to undertake with them the defence of all Greece against the common danger; but Philip retained the friendship of the Thebans for Macedonia through his partisans and friends, of whom Timolaüs, Theogiton and Anemoetas had great influence with their people (*Demos.* De Corona 295). *Therefore, thinking that after having defeated the Locrians and their allies he would easily be superior to the Athenians, he quickly led his army into Phocis* (*Plut.* Demos. *xviii. 1;*

Diod. xvi. 2. 84) and seizing Elatea, which commanded the frontiers both of the Thebans and the Boeotians, placed a garrison there and fortified it, as if to make it the seat of the war.

The news of this step, brought at night to Athens, filled the city with such great alarm, that when an assembly of the people was held at daybreak and the herald, according to custom, proclaimed that if anyone had helpful counsel to give his country, he should speak, at first no one arose (*Plut.* Dem. l.c.). *Finally Demosthenes persuaded them at once to make ready their fleet and army, and to send envoys both to the rest of the Greeks and especially to the Thebans. When a decree had been passed to this effect, Chares and Lysicles were made commanders of the forces, and Demosthenes was chosen chief of the embassy to the Thebans. Philip saw clearly how great a war would arise if all these peoples formed a league; for the Athenians were powerful at that time in riches and influence; also the Theban power and reputation was not to be despised, since the memory of the battle of Leuctra* (*371* B.C.) *was not forgotten, in which they had wrested the leadership of Greece from the Lacedaemonians. Therefore, in order to encourage his allies and to anticipate the plans of the opposite faction, he sent to Thebes two Macedonians, Amyntas and Clearchus, and with them a native of Byzantium named Python* (*Diod. xvi. 85. 3*). *in whose eloquence he had great confidence. Python made a long and eloquent address, which was answered by Demosthenes* (*whose speech was based upon his* Philippics).

The effect of the address of Demosthenes was so great that you would have supposed that the Thebans had been changed into other men (*Plut.* Dem. *xviii. 3*); *they declared Philip an enemy if he did not as soon as possible withdraw*

from their territories and those of their allies, drive from the city the men of the Macedonian faction and receive in it the forces of the Athenians. But Philip, rather disturbed than alarmed at the unexpected revolt of the Thebans, did not abandon his design. After two slight battles, in which the Athenians were satisfied with their success, at length both armies encamped near the town of Chaeronea in Boeotia. The Greeks were animated by the glory of their ancestors and their love of liberty; Philip trusted to his excellent troops, which had won so many victories. He also based no little confidence upon himself, because he excelled in the art of generalship (Diod. xvi. 85. 6), while the most famous Greek leaders were already dead at that time. The Thebans were commanded by Theagenes, a man of only moderate experience in warfare, and not very strong in resisting the power of money.

The Thebans were not indisposed to consider peace, but the ardour of the Athenians impelled them to stake the fortune of all Greece on the outcome of a single battle. Alexander, too, urged his father not to let such an opportunity of gaining glory slip from his hands, and, having at length prevailed upon him, was first to charge the enemy. The battle (338 B.C.) was fierce, and victory was long doubtful, until the young prince, to whom his father had given the command of one wing with elite troops, with great courage attacked the sacred band of the Thebans (Diod. xvi. 86. 3; Plut. Alex. *ix. 2), consisting of their best soldiers, dislodged them from their positions, and opened the way to victory. For the Athenians, broken by the disaster to their allies and worn out by heat and wounds, could no longer resist the attack of the Macedonians. There fell of the Athenians more than a thousand, and more than 2000 were captured; of their allies, too,*

many fell in battle or came alive into the hands of the enemy.

Alexander, sent to Athens after the battle, proclaimed that Philip pardoned the Athenians and gave them peace, returned the prisoners without ransom, and allowed the burial of the dead ; for, intent upon the Persian war, the king tried to gain the fidelity and devotion of the Greeks by mercy and moderation (Justin ix. 4). Nevertheless he deprived the Athenians of the rule of the sea and the islands. He was more severe to the Thebans (Diod. xvi. 87. 3) ; when they had surrendered their city and he had placed there a Macedonian garrison, he slew all those whom he most hated and suspected, banished others, restored the exiles of his faction, and gave them magistracies and judicial positions. After this victory all Greece except the Arcadians and the Spartans acknowledged his rule. Having called a general assembly of Greece at Corinth, he explained the reason for making war upon the Persians, and the assembly bade him set out to Asia as Commander of the Greeks and give freedom to the world. Then it was decided how many men, how much grain and money, each people should furnish. I find that 200,000 infantry and 15,000 horsemen were promised, not counting the Macedonians nor the barbarians subject to the Macedonians (Justin ix. 5. 6 f.).

Meanwhile these successes abroad were offset by domestic troubles. Olympias was more and more alienating the affections of her husband by her ill-humour and arrogance. Some say that Philip divorced her (Plut. Alex. *ix. 4, Perrin's note). But I find that without a divorce Philip married Cleopatra (Arr. iii. 6. 5 calls her Eurydicê) ; for Alexander was present at the marriage of his future stepmother. At the banquet which accompanied the wedding Attalus, uncle of the bride, after heavy*

drinking, said that the Macedonians ought to pray the gods that from the new marriage Philip might rear a legitimate successor (Plut. Alex. *ix. 4 ff.). Alexander, enraged by the insult, threw his cup at Attalus' head, and Attalus threw his cup at Alexander. In the tumult which followed Philip drew his sword and would have killed his son, but fell from the combined effects of lameness from his wound, anger, and wine. Whereupon Alexander bade the Macedonians look upon the man who proposed to carry war into Asia, but had fallen in crossing from one couch to another (Plut.* Alex. l.c.). *Then, fearing for his mother and himself, he took her to Epirus, of which Olympias' brother was king, and himself set out to the king of the Illyrians. Afterwards, when a reconciliation had been made through Demaratus of Corinth and they had both returned to Macedonia (Plut.* Alex. *ix. 6), Olympias did not cease to urge her son, who was himself ambitious enough, to make as many friends as possible by favours and by money, and to secure himself against the wrath of his father by alliance with powerful men.*

Among Philip's body-guards was one Pausanias, whom the king had raised to that position to console him for an outrage which he had suffered through Attalus. Pausanias, more mindful of the injury which he had received than of the favour, transferred his hatred from the author of the wrong to the king who had failed to avenge it. That he shared his design with those whom he knew to be hostile to the house of Attalus and to Philip was believed, not without reason, and no one had any doubt on the subject after Olympias placed a golden crown on the murderer's head, when she found him hanging upon the cross (Justin ix. 7. 10). Before it was fully daylight a great crowd had filled the theatre at Aegae, to witness games that were to surpass those of the preceding day. Pausanias had

watched the king as he was about to enter the theatre, and when Philip, having sent ahead the friends who had accompanied him and having dismissed his guards, was going in alone (for amid such goodwill on the part of all he wished to show that he had no need of guards) the assassin unexpectedly leaped upon him and plunged a dagger which he had hidden under his cloak into the king's heart (Diod. xvi. 94. 3).

Such was the end of the greatest king of his time. He had made the kingdom of Macedonia powerful; he had subdued the barbarians by which it was surrounded; he had imposed his yoke upon Greece; the leaders whom he had sent in advance had already crossed into Asia. Olympias, on hearing of the king's death, compelled Cleopatra to hang herself (Justin ix. 7. 10). She burned to death the child born of Cleopatra a few days before the death of its father, and vented her rage upon all her rival's relatives and dependants.

Alexander, in whose absence his mother had done these things, appeared in time for quieting such tempests, like a helpful star; for the Greeks whom Philip had subjected were aroused to the hope of liberty, the barbarians in the neighbourhood of Macedonia were rioting, and not even the affairs of Macedonia itself were tranquil. Alexander put Attalus to death through Hecataeus and Parmenion (Diod. xvii. 5. 2), and got rid of other aspirants to the throne except Alexander Lyncestes, whom he spared for the time because he had been the first to salute him as king, and kept in prison for three years (Curt. vii. 1. 8). The frequent quarrels which Alexander had had with Philip led to the suspicion that he had by a verse from the tragedy of Medea [a] *inspired Pausanias to murder Philip (Plut. Alex. x. 4); but Alexander threw the blame upon the*

[a] Of Euripides, verse 289.

Persians in a letter to Darius, in which he accused him of hiring assassins to slay his father (Arr. ii. 14. 5; Curt. iv. 1. 12). To efface this suspicion, Alexander planned, shortly before his death, to build a magnificent temple in honour of Philip (Diod. xviii. 4. 5), but his successors neglected his order, although they found it in his Memoirs *among many other directions.*

In order to carry out his plans, Alexander thought it most important to retain the leadership of Greece which Philip had held. Hastily leading out his army, he unexpectedly burst into Thessaly. Some of the Thessalians had taken courage and by seizing the narrow pass at Tempê had blocked the approach from Macedonia. For Olympus and Ossa separate those regions, and between their slopes flows the river Peneüs, which because of its charm merits the annual sacrifices of the race. A narrow pass extends for about five miles (Plin. N.H. *iv. 8 (31, 32); Livy xliv. 6. 8), hardly allowing passage for a single loaded mule, and capable of being defended by ten men against any number of the enemy. This pass Alexander penetrated by cutting steps in the side of Mount Ossa, and by his rapidity so terrified all the Thessalians that without opposition they gave him the rule of the entire race along with all their rights and revenues under the same conditions that Philip had enjoyed (Diod. xvii. 4. 1 ff.; Justin xi. 3). He gave immunity to Phthia because it was the birthplace of Achilles, the founder of his family, and he said that he chose that hero as his ally and fellow-soldier on his expedition against the Persians.*

From Thessaly he went to Thermopylae, the meeting-place of the general assembly of Greece—they call it Pylaïc (Livy xxxi. 35. 8, cf. Pylaïcus conventus, *xxxi. 32. 3, 5), where he was appointed chief commander of the Greeks. He ordered ratification of the freedom of the*

Ambraciots (*Diod.* l.c.), *which they had recovered by driving out a garrison of Macedonians, saying that he would have restored it of his own accord if they had not anticipated him by a few days. Then he led his army to Thebes, and having broken the obstinacy of the Boeotians and Athenians, who especially had opposed his plans, he ordered the envoys of the Greeks to meet him at Corinth* (*Diod.* l.c.; *Justin xi. 2. 4*). *There the decree of the Amphictyons was confirmed, by a unanimous vote he was appointed Commander of the Greeks in place of his father Philip, and help was voted for the Persian war. In the Craneion, a suburb of Corinth, where there is a cypress grove, the philosopher Diogenes, of Sinopê, was sunning himself. When Alexander gave him the privilege of asking for anything he wished, Diogenes asked that the king and his followers should move a little and not shut out his sunlight* (*Plut.* Alex. *xiv. 3; Arr. vii. 2. 1*). *Whereupon Alexander is reported to have said: "I should wish to be Diogenes, if I were not Alexander."*

From the Peloponnesus Alexander went to Delphi, to consult Apollo about the result of the war which he had in mind, but the prophetic maid said that it was not lawful to approach the god at that time. Thereupon Alexander seized her and tried to drag her to the temple, and when she said: "Thou art invincible, my son," he said that he accepted the omen and asked for no other oracle (*Plut.* Alex. *xiv. 4*). *After quickly accomplishing these things and returning to his kingdom, he devoted himself with great zeal to avenging the insult to the prestige of the Macedonians. Having prepared everything, in the early spring he set out from Amphipolis against the free nations of Thrace and came to Mount Haemus. A great band of Thracians had taken possession of the height, in order to block the king's passage. They had surrounded their*

camp with wagons in the manner of a rampart, intending to launch them upon the Macedonians, if they attacked them (Arr. i. 1. 6). Alexander, seeing their plan (Arr. i. 1. 8; Polyaen. Strat. *iv. 2. 11), directed his soldiers, when the wagons rushed upon them, to part the phalanx and let them pass through without doing harm; or if any of them should be caught, to lie flat on the ground under a covering of shields held close together. Hence the enemy's plan failed, and all that tempest passed with only thunder. Then the Macedonians, freed from fear, charged up the hill and scattered the enemy. Some 1500 were killed and great booty was taken.*

Then Alexander advanced into the interior of Thrace, where there is a grove consecrated to Father Liber (Macr. Saturn. *i. 18). There and at Mount Libethrus, in the country of the Odrysae, omens foretold the greatness of Alexander* (cf. *Suet.* Aug. *94. 5). He next attacked the Triballi, whose king Syrmus had taken refuge in Peucê, an island in the Danube (Arr. i. 2. 2). Alexander was unable to reach him for want of ships, but attacked and defeated another army of the Triballi, killing 3000 men with a loss of only 50. He also attacked the Getae (Arr. i. 3. 5) and defeated them. Then he erected altars to Jupiter, Hercules, and the Ister. Here envoys came to him from the neighbouring peoples and from King Syrmus, bringing gifts of the things which they regard as most valuable. The Germans, too, who occupy the lands extending from the sources of the Ister to the Adriatic, had sent gifts; for the Ister rises in Germany and they call it by the native name Danube. Alexander, admiring their great size and active bodies, asked them what they feared most of all, thinking that his power was formidable to them and that he would force them to confess it. But they replied that they feared nothing greatly, except that*

the heavens might fall on them, but that they valued highly the friendship of brave men.

Struck by the unexpected answer, he was silent for a moment, then merely saying : " Arrogant fellows, these Germans ! " (Arr. i. 4. 8), he made an alliance with them because they asked it. To Syrmus and the rest he gave peace. Then, thinking that he had acquired enough glory in that expedition, he turned all his thoughts to the war in Persia, where he hoped with less toil to gain a far greater reward for his labours. It is well known that his uncle Alexander (Molossus) thus taunted him, when he was tired a little later of making war in Italy ; he said that it had been his lot to fight with men, the Macedonians', with women (Gell. xvii. 21. 33 ; some attribute this saying to Pyrrhus). The princes of Thrace, and others who seemed strong enough to revolt, Alexander led away, under guise of honour, as if he were enrolling them as fellow-soldiers against the Persians (Front. Strat. *ii. 11. 3), and in this manner he removed the chiefs of the factions, which could do nothing without their leaders (Justin xi. 5. 3). As he was returning to Macedonia, fresh disturbances broke out among the Autariates and Taulantii, which were put down after a hard struggle (Arr. i. 5-6).*

Meanwhile the rumour spread over all Greece that Alexander had been slain in the country of the Triballi (Arr. i. 7. 2 ; Justin xi. 2. 8), and the report was confirmed by an alleged eye-witness of his death. Encouraged by this rumour, some Thebans who had been exiled by Philip, led by Phoenix and Prothytes, slew the commanders of the Macedonian garrison which was holding the Cadmea, who had gone outside of the citadel because they had no suspicion of treachery (Arr. i. 7. 1). The citizens, hastily embracing the apparent opportunity of freeing their country, laid siege to the garrison (Diod. xvii. 8. 3) and

surrounded the Cadmea with a double wall and trench, in order that neither supplies nor aid could be furnished. Then, sending envoys in the garb of suppliants to the Greek cities, they begged them not to think of failing those who were seeking the liberty which had been shamefully snatched from them. And Demosthenes induced the Athenians because of their old-time hatred of the Macedonians promptly to vote aid. Yet this was not sent, because, alarmed by the sudden arrival of Alexander, they thought it best to wait for the decision of Fortune. Demosthenes, however, aided the Thebans with his private means and supplied without cost a great amount of arms (*Plut.* Dem. *xx. 4 f.; xxiii. 1*). *With these those from whom Philip had taken their arms were thoroughly equipped and vigorously attacked the garrison of the Cadmea.*

A strong force of Peloponnesians had gathered at the Isthmus, and although Antipater, to whom the king had given charge of Macedonia during his absence, had sent to ask them not, contrary to the general decree of Greece, to join with the professed enemies of Alexander, they nevertheless admitted the envoys of the Thebans. And although the common soldiers were moved by pity, their leader, Astylus, an Arcadian by race, caused delay, not so much because he was alarmed by the difficulty of the undertaking, as through avarice, in order that he might receive a greater bribe from the haste and anxiety of the Thebans. Ten talents were demanded, and when the Thebans did not pay this, that sum was offered by the men of the Macedonian party as the price of remaining quiet. Hence the hope of the Thebans of aid from the Arcadians came to nothing. Nevertheless Demosthenes by bribery prevented other forces from the Peloponnesus from fighting against the Thebans; for he was said to have received

300 talents from the Persians with which to make trouble for Alexander (*Plut.* Demos. *xx. 4 f.; Justin xi. 2. 7*).

When these things were announced, Alexander made haste with his army, and on the seventh day after leaving Pelium came to Pellenê, a town of Thessaly, and six days later into Boeotia; presently he came to Onchestus, about six miles from Thebes. Meanwhile the Thebans, managing affairs with greater courage than prudence, were unaware of all this; for while they believed that the Macedonian forces were within Pylae, they considered it so incredible that the king was coming, that they said that another Alexander, son of Aëropus, was commanding the army (*Arr. i. 7. 6*). *The king encamped at the shrine of Iolaüs, which is before the gate called Proetis, and had decided to give the Thebans time for repentance; whereupon they made a sally and attacked the pickets of the Macedonians, killing some and putting the rest to flight. They even penetrated the camp, but were repulsed by a light-armed band sent by order of the king. On the following day the king moved his army to the gate facing Attica, in order to be at hand for his countrymen shut up in the citadel, but he still delayed and offered pardon if the Thebans would repent.*

But those who wished peace were overcome by the power of the exiles and of those by whom they had been recalled; having no hope of life if the Macedonians got possession of the city, they preferred that their fatherland should be ruined rather than purchase its safety with their death; and they brought some of the Boeotarchs[a] *to side with them. How great their madness was can be seen from this, that when Alexander demanded that they give up the ringleaders of the revolt, and by two lives expiate all the*

[a] The chief magistrates of the Boeotian confederacy.

wrongdoing of their city, they had the assurance to demand in turn Philotas and Antipater, the king's principal friends (Plut. Alex. *11. 4), and to proclaim through a herald that if any, in company with the great king and the Thebans, wished to maintain the freedom of the Greeks against the tyrant, they would find a refuge in Thebes.*

Nevertheless the city was not attacked by Alexander's order, but as Ptolemy has reported (Arr. i. 8. 1)—for some tell a different story—Perdiccas, who was in command at the part of the camp opposite the stockade of the enemy by which the Cadmea was enclosed, attacked them without waiting for the signal, and Amyntas, who was stationed next to him, followed his example. Then Alexander, fearing for his men, appeared with the whole mass of his troops, and having ordered the light-armed soldiers to break through and aid their comrades, halted with the rest before the stockade. A fierce conflict followed; Perdiccas, while attacking the inner wall, was carried off the field badly wounded (Arr. i. 8. 3) and many of the Cretan archers fell, along with their leader Eurybotas. The Thebans pressed after them and followed them in their flight to Alexander. There, when the king with the phalanx drawn up charged the scattered and disordered ranks of the Thebans, the fortune of the battle changed, and such was the confusion of the Thebans that they did not even close the gates of the city, and at the same time those who were holding the Cadmea rushed out into the streets below the citadel. Thus the most famous city of Greece was attacked and taken in the same day. No example of cruelty was omitted; men and women were slaughtered indiscriminately; not even children were spared. This inhumanity was due to the people of Phocis, Plataea, Orchomenus, and Thespiae, to whom the might of the neighbouring city, in the days of its power, had been

destructive; the Macedonians did nothing in violation of the laws of war (Arr. i. 8. 8; Diod. xvii. 13. 5).

At length, when already 6000 had perished, the order to cease from carnage was given. The entire booty amounted to 440 talents, according to Clearchus; others say that that was the sum made from the sale of the prisoners. Alexander took the 100 talents which the Thessalians owed the Thebans. A few who had opposed war escaped slavery; so also priests (Plut. Alex. *xi. 6), and those whose hospitality Alexander or his father had enjoyed. Of the rest, Timoclea (Plut.* Alex. *xii.; Polyaen.* Strat. *viii. 40) gained the reward of liberty for a famous deed, as well as renown among future generations. A general of cavalry, serving with Alexander, having violated her, asked her where she hid her most precious treasures. She showed him a well, and when the man looked into it, she pushed him in and threw rocks upon him. When she was taken before Alexander to be punished, he, on hearing the case, pardoned her and gave her freedom along with all her relatives. He also spared the descendants of Pindar, because that poet had praised his ancestor Alexander in his Odes, and he forbade the destruction of Pindar's house (Arr. i. 9. 10; Plut.* Alex. *xi. 6).*

The destruction of Thebes was foretold by many portents (Diod. xvii. 10. 2 ff.); but having in mind the glory of their ancestors, the Thebans nevertheless opposed Alexander with an inferior force. Having taken the city, Alexander referred to the council of the allies what its fate should be (Justin xi. 3. 8). Through the influence of the Phocians and of many Boeotians who had suffered from the Thebans, the walls and buildings of the city were destroyed, and its territory was divided among the victors. Thus a single day took from the midst of Greece the birthplace, not only of famous men, but also of gods (Justin xi.

4. 4), nearly 800 years after the oracle of the crows (Diod. xix. 53. 8) which led to its foundation. The city was razed to the ground to the music of the flute, as Lysander had razed the long walls of Athens sixty years before (Plut. Lys. *xv. 4). Thebes was rebuilt by Cassander, son of Antipater, twenty years later through hatred of Alexander (Diod. xix. 54. 1). Alexander himself repented of having destroyed the city (Plut.* Alex. *xiii. 2) and attributed to the anger of Bacchus the murder of Clitus and the mutiny of the Macedonians in India; some even believed that his death was caused by excessive wine and hence was due to the vengeance of Bacchus.*

After this, Alexander sent envoys to the Athenians, demanding that they should surrender the orators who had so often roused them to revolt against the Macedonians (Arr. i. 10. 4; Plut. Phocion *xvii. 2). Phocion urged them to consent, but Demosthenes opposed such action (Plut.* Dem. *xxiii. 4). Demosthenes had offended the Macedonians in many ways, and Athens had committed many sins, especially by her friendship for Thebes. Yet Alexander spared them at the appeal of Demades (Plut.* Dem. *xxiii. 5), insisting only on the banishment of Charidemus (Arr. i. 10. 6); he went to the Persians, and was of great use to them until he was killed by order of Darius because of too great freedom of speech (Curt. iii. 2. 10-19). Other Athenians through hatred of Alexander left the city (Curt. iii. 13. 15). After this and after the taking of Leucadia (Front.* Strat. *iii. 4. 5), none dared to resist him. Ambassadors came from the Peloponnesus to congratulate him on his victories over the barbarians and also on having punished the insolence of some Greeks. The Aetolians also sent excuses, because when there had been such great disturbances in Greece, their own people had not wholly abstained from new plans. The Megarians made*

Alexander a citizen, at first to the amusement of himself and his friends (*Sen.* De Benef. *i. 13. 1*) ; *but when he learned that they had conferred that honour previously only upon Hercules, he accepted it with joy. He pardoned the rest of the Greeks, but since he especially distrusted the Spartans, he restored the children of Psilias to Messenê, from which they had been banished ; he gave Pellenê, a town of Achaia, to Chaeron, and placed in Sicyon and in several other cities of the Peloponnesus creatures of his, to keep watch on the Spartans. All these things were quickly accomplished. On being once asked how he had been able to subdue Greece, he replied : " By putting off nothing to to-morrow "* (*Schol. ad Hom.* Iliad. *B*).

BOOK II

At that time Darius was king of the Persians, raised to that eminence shortly before the death of Philip by a eunuch named Bagoas, who, after destroying King Ochus and then his son Arses with their whole house, made a gift of the rule which he could not claim for himself, imagining that he would have lasting favour with one whom he had put under obligation by so great a service (*Diod. xvii. 5. 3 ff. ; Arr. ii. 14. 5*). *And Darius was not regarded among his people as unworthy of that fortune ; for he was related to the royal family. In fact, Ostanes, the uncle of Ochus, had begotten Arsanes, and Arsanes Codomannus, which was the name of Darius before he became king. But when he had been placed upon the throne of Cyrus, in accordance with a custom of the Persians* (*Hdt. vi. 98 ; Justin x. 3. 5*) *he gave up his former name and wished to be called Darius. Also distinguished in war* (*Diod.* l.c.), *he had challenged and slain*

an enemy when Ochus was waging war with the Cadusii, and thus gained a reputation for valour. He was the tenth ruler of Persia after Cyrus, the founder of the kingdom; for Ochus had succeeded his father Artaxerxes (Mnemon), Artaxerxes succeeded Darius, to whom Artaxerxes (Macrochir), son of Xerxes, had left the throne, and Xerxes had received it from his father Darius. As for this Darius, he was the son of Hystaspes, and after the house of Cyrus had come to an end in the person of Cambyses, he wrested the rule from the Magi by a conspiracy formed by seven distinguished Persians (Hdt. iii. 60; Amm. xxiii. 6. 36, note; on the names of the kings see Nepos xxi. 1. 2 ff.).

Under these kings for about 230 years the Persian realm enjoyed remarkable prosperity, as long as the nation during its difficult beginnings remained a stranger to pleasures and fought valiantly for freedom, glory, and power (Arr. v. 4. 5). As time went on, after it seemed to have gained the rewards of Virtue, it neglected her, not so safe in its own strength as in the fame of the power won by its ancestors and in the use of riches, with which it fought more successfully against the Greeks than with arms. Finally, when against the might of Alexander it was effecting too little by gold, and, since all external aid was failing it, it had to depend upon itself, broken and effeminated as it was by pleasures and soft living, it could not resist the course of its falling fortune. For necessity arouses courage, luxury and idleness follow wealth.

On hearing of the death of Philip, by whose good fortune and preparations they had been terrified, the Persians were freed from all fear (Diod. xvii. 7. 1); they scorned the youth of Alexander, imagining that he would be satisfied if he were allowed to walk about safely within the walls of Pella. But when one message after another

told of his wars and his victories, more and more dreading the youth whom they had so far despised, they prepared aid with the greatest care, as if for a long and cruel war. And since by experience in former battles they had learned that the Asiatic soldiers were unequal to the European, they sent recruiting officers to Greece and hired 50,000 vigorous young men (Curt. v. 11. 5). The Rhodian Memnon was given command of these forces, since in many previous wars he had abundantly convinced the Persians of his trustworthiness and valour (Diod. xvii. 7. 2). He, being sent to seize Cyzicus, by swift marches came through Phrygia, where it joins the Troad, to Mount Ida, which by its very name shows the nature of its situation : for the ancients called places thickly set with trees Idas. It is the highest of the mountains of Hellespontus (Diod. xvii. 7. 4 ff.), and in its midst is the cave in which the Trojan judge is said to have looked upon the beauty of the goddesses. It is also said to be the native land of the Idaean Dactyli, or Corybantes (Diod. l.c.) *who, instructed by the Great Mother (Cybelê) first discovered the twofold use of iron, a most cruel tool of rage and not less useful as an aid to poverty and toil. It is also deserving of wonder that at the rising of the dog-star, when the winds are violent at its base, the air at the summit of Ida is quiet; also it is remarkable for the strange appearance of the sun at early dawn (Diod.* l.c. *; Lucr. v. 662 ff. ; Mela i. 18. 3 ff.).*

At the foot of Ida the territory of Cyzicus extends into the Propontis (Strabo xiii. p. 582) ; the town itself is situated on a small island, and is connected with the mainland by a bridge. But this work was constructed a little later by Alexander ; at the time of Memnon's expedition the crossing was made by ships. When Memnon had vainly tried to terrify the Cyziceni by a sudden attack and

they defended their walls vigorously, he pillaged their territory and amassed great booty from it. Nor were the Macedonian leaders idle; Parmenion stormed Grynion, a town of Aeolis, and enslaved the inhabitants. Then crossing the Caïcus river, he attacked Pitanê, a rich city and convenient with its two harbours for receiving forces from Europe; but on the speedy arrival of Memnon the siege was at once raised. Then Calas, who was making war in the Troad with a small force of Macedonians and mercenaries, fought with the Persians; but being no match for the large army of the enemy, he withdrew to Rhoeteum.

Meanwhile Alexander, having arranged matters in Greece and returned to Macedonia, was deliberating with his friends as to what ought to be guarded against or attended to by one who was going to enter upon so great a war. Antipater and Parmenion, his oldest and most influential friends, protested that he ought not in his one person to expose the safety of the whole empire to the wiles of Fortune; that he ought rather to provide for having offspring, and having thus secured the safety of his fatherland, should then think of its aggrandizement (Diod. xvii. 16. 1, 2). And, in fact, no one of Philip's blood survived who was fit to rule except Alexander, since the offspring of Cleopatra had been destroyed by Olympias; Arrhidaeus, it was thought, would dishonour Macedonia by reason of his mother's race (Plut. Alex. *lxxvii. 5) and his own disordered mind.*

But the king, impatient of inaction, was thinking of nothing but war and of glory won by victory. Therefore he said: "You, indeed, as becomes good men and lovers of your country, are not without reason anxious about its advantages and disadvantages. For it is a difficult task that faces us; who would deny that? If, after having

rashly begun it, the result shows that we were overhasty, repentance when it is too late will avail nothing. For it is before we set sail that we consult whether we wish to sail or to remain in port; when we have trusted ourselves to the winds and waves, our whole voyage is exposed to their will. Therefore I am not displeased that your opinion differs from mine; rather I praise your frankness, and pray you that, in further questions which shall be referred to you, you may follow the same method. Friends of kings, if any deserve that name, have regard in advising them, not so much to their favour as to their advantage and honour. He who advises doing differently than he himself would do, does not instruct the one who consults him, but deceives him.

"Furthermore, to let you also know the reason for my feeling, I am sure that nothing is less favourable to my plans than delay. When all the barbarous country around Macedonia is subdued, and the disturbances of the Greeks are ended, shall we suffer our valiant and most successful army to waste away in inaction and idleness; or shall we rather lead it into the rich region of Asia, possession of which they have long since enjoyed in their hopes, seeking from the spoils of Persia the rewards for the labours which for a long time they endured under my father's rule, and now for the third year under mine? The reign of Darius is still new, and by killing Bagoas (Curt. v. 4. 10), through whose favour he rules, he incurs among his subjects the suspicion of cruelty and ingratitude, things which fill the best of subjects with hatred for their rulers, and make them slower to obey, or even inflexible. Shall we sit quiet until his authority is strengthened, and until, having quieted matters at home at his leisure, he shall even bring war into Macedonia? There are many rewards for speed, which, if we delay, will belong to the enemy. The

first impression on men's minds is followed by great importance in matters of this kind, and that impression is gained by one who anticipates his enemy. In fact, no one gains the reputation for greater strength by delay; furthermore, he who declares war is regarded as stronger than he against whom war is declared.

"*Again, with how great danger to my own repute shall I disappoint the hope of those who have judged that the honour ought to be bestowed on me in my youth which a great commander, my father, after so many proofs of valour, obtained only a little before his death? For certainly the assembly of the Greeks did not vote us the command in order that in Macedonia, slothful and devoted to base pleasure, we might neglect the wrongs formerly and lately inflicted on the Greek name; but that the Persians might pay the penalty for those crimes which with the greatest insolence they have basely and wantonly committed against us (Diod. xvii. 5. 3 ff.). What shall I say of those nations of the Greeks which, widely spread through Asia, the intolerable slavery of barbarian nations oppresses? I shall not repeat the prayers with which, and the arguments with which, Delius the Ephesian pleaded their cause (Plut.* adv. Colotem *50), since you yourselves remember them. It is certainly sure that all those nations, as soon as they see our standards, will immediately cross over to us, and will vigorously encounter any danger in behalf of their liberators and their defenders against severe and unjust masters.*

"*And yet why do we, forgetful of our courage and the weakness of our enemies, look about for aid against nations which even to have conquered a little too slowly would be more shameful than glorious? In the time of our fathers great armies of the enemy vainly resisted a few Lacedaemonians who had marched into Asia (Plut.*

Agesil. *viii. ff.*). *They suffered Phrygia, Lydia, Paphlagonia to be pillaged; or whenever they tried to prevent it, they were cut down until their enemies were sated; finally Agesilaüs, recalled by his countrymen because of disturbances which had arisen in Greece, allowed them in their terror and confusion time to recover their breath. A few years earlier barely 10,000 Greeks* (*Xen.* Anab. *ii. ff.*) *without leaders or supplies opened a way homeward with the sword from the innermost parts of Asia, although they were followed by the whole army of the king, that army with which he had fought for the throne with his brother Cyrus and defeated him. We, therefore, whom all Greece, subdued in so many battles, obeys, we who have either slain their bravest men in battle or have them in our camp, shall we forsooth fear Asia, on which those whom we have defeated have with small numbers inflicted shameful losses?"*

Then, when he had added other remarks in the same purport, he so moved their feelings that all assented; even Parmenion, who had especially advised that the war be postponed, agreed that the greatest haste should be made, and now even urged Alexander on. Therefore, every care being directed towards hastening their departure, at Dium, a city of Macedonia, the king offered to Jupiter a sacrifice instituted by Archelaüs (*Arr. i. 11. 1; Diod. xvii. 16. 3 f.*). *He also celebrated scenic plays in honour of the Muses for nine days, corresponding to the number of the goddesses. After this, a banquet was given with the greatest magnificence in an adorned tent which contained a hundred couches* (*Diod.* l.c.); *there Alexander reclined with his friends and generals and with the envoys from the states. He also ordered that the victims be distributed through the army, and that other things be furnished by which the day set aside for rejoicing and*

festal feasts might be spent with favourable omens for the coming war.

In the early spring, bringing together his forces from every side, he crossed into Asia, leading an army mightier in strength than in numbers. Parmenion led 30,000 infantry; of these the Macedonians amounted to 13,000, there were 5000 mercenaries (Diod. xvii. 17. 3-4), and the remaining force the allies and the federated states had sent. Philotas led 1800 Macedonian horsemen (Curt. vi. 9. 21; Diod. l.c.), *Calas the same number from Thessaly; from the rest of Greece 600 horsemen in all came, of whom the king gave the command to Erigyius. Cassander was at the front of the army with 900 Thracian and Paeonian scouting cavalry. This army, with supplies provided for not more than thirty days, he did not hesitate to oppose to countless numbers of barbarians, relying on the valour of his men, who, having grown old in victory, were invincible, in strength of spirit and in the use of arms, by any number of enemies.*

To Antipater (Arr. i. 11. 3; Diod. xvii. 17. 5), to whom he had entrusted the affairs of Macedonia and Greece with 12,000 footsoldiers and 1500 horsemen, he gave instruction to hold frequent levies in Europe, by which any losses which the army might suffer in battle or from disease might be made good. This one thing he had reserved for himself when he was lavishing everything on his friends; for whatever could be spared without danger to the majesty of the kingdom he distributed among his friends before embarking on the ships. Perdiccas did not wish to accept the share which was given to him, but asked the king what, pray, he would leave for himself, to which the king replied: "Hope." Whereupon Perdiccas said: "We who serve under your auspices will be sharers in that also" (Plut. Alex. *xv. 2). A few followed his example;*

the rest did not;' nay, on being asked where his own treasures were, Alexander replied with truth: "In the hands of my friends" (Amm. xxv. 4. 15). And, in fact, having cast the die with reference to his most important affairs, he seemed wisely to have invested the funds which he had; for if victor, he would obtain far greater wealth, and in the meantime he had more eager helpers.

In truth, the king was all but reduced to his immediate necessities when he was giving away lands and estates and revenues which were not yet realized; for he had merely put aside money for use in war, of which the less the abundance was, the more wisely was it administered. Indeed, when Philip was assassinated, there was found in the treasury less than sixty talents in coined money, besides a few gold and silver cups (Arr. vii. 9. 6), while he left about 500 talents of debt. For although he had greatly increased the power of the Macedonian kingdom, and had so improved the gold mines at Crenidae, to which he himself gave the name of "Philippi" (Diod. xvi. 8. 6), that an annual revenue of 1000 talents was realized from them, he had by constant wars and not less by largess made heavy drains upon the treasury. He had also spent great sums in restoring and adorning Macedonia, which he had received in a state of extreme poverty. Many have recalled that at the beginning of his reign he was poor, and that having a gold cup worth 500 drachmas, he kept it under his pillow when he went to bed (Athen. iv. 155 d; vi. 231 b).

It was the son of this king who attacked in war the king of the Persians, for whom there were kept under his head and under the feet of his bed in special places while he slept 5000 talents of gold for his pillow and 3000 of silver for his foot-stool. And yet Alexander had added to the debts of his father 800 talents, which he had borrowed

(Arr. vii. 9. 6), of which hardly a tenth part remained. He is said to have divided his goods to the music of the flute of Timotheüs (Himerius, in Photius), *to the great enthusiasm of the soldiers, who with firm confidence destined for themselves the wealth of the barbarians whom they were on their way to attack (Justin xi. 5. 8).*

Alexander, carried through the lake which, from the name of a neighbouring mountain, they call Circinitis (Arr. i. 11. 3), in which he had his ships, into the Strymon, went on to Amphipolis, and from there to the delta of the Strymon. Having crossed this and passed Mount Pangaeum, he entered on the road leading to Abdera and Maronea (Arr. l.c.). *For he had decided to make his march along the shore, in order to defend his ships, which were sailing near by, in case the Persians should happen to fall in with them; for at that time the Persians held command of the sea. From there he hastened to the river Hebrus, crossed it without difficulty, and on the twentieth day after leaving home reached Sestus, at the extreme end of the mainland overlooking the Hellespont, where a narrow strait separates Asia from Europe. When he came to Sestus, he ordered the greater part of his forces, led by Parmenion, to go to Abydus on the opposite shore, giving him for the purpose 160 triremes and many transport ships. He himself with the rest went to Elaeus, sacred to Protesilaüs, whose tomb is there (Hdt. ix. 116). Around the tomb are many elms, whose leaves, on the branches facing Ilium, fall off, thus typifying (it is believed) the sad fate of the hero, who was the first victim of the Trojan war. To him Alexander paid funeral offerings, praying that he himself might touch the hostile shore under better auspices. Then with fifty ships of war he went to Sigeum, whose harbour had held the Greek fleet in Trojan times. When he was sailing in the midst of the*

waters of the Hellespont (for he was the steersman of his own ship) he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids, and threw the golden cup from which he had made libation into the sea, as a gift to the marine gods. When he had reached port, the king, having hurled a spear into the shore, was first with balanced body to leap ashore, calling the gods to witness that he wished, with their kindly aid, to claim possession of Asia in a just and pious war (Justin xi. 5. 10). Then he set up altars where he had landed to Jupiter of Safe Landing, Minerva, and Hercules (Arr. i. 11. 7). He also ordered altars to be built in the place whence he had set sail from Europe.

From Sigeum he entered the plains where the site of ancient Ilium was shown. There, while he was eagerly surveying the memorials of the work of the heroes, one of the natives promised him the lyre of Paris (Plut. Alex. *xv. 5), but the king replied : " I care nothing for the vile instrument of cowardly wantonness ; but give me the lyre of Achilles, sounding the praises of brave men with the same hand with which he surpassed their deeds." For he was wont especially to admire Achilles, in his descent from whom he gloried ; he even ran naked with his friends around the hero's gravestone, and after anointing it with oil placed a garland upon it (Plut.* Alex. *xv. 4 ; Arr. i. 12. 1). Hephaestion crowned the tomb of Patroclus, signifying that he held the same place in the friendship of Alexander that Patroclus did in that of Achilles. In the course of much talk about Achilles, the king said that the Greek hero seemed to be happy for two reasons ; both because in life he had a faithful friend and because after death he had a mighty herald (Arr. i. 12. 1 ; Cic.* Pro Arch. *10. 24).*

He made offerings also to the rest of the heroes whose

tombs are shown in those lands and offered sacrifice to Priam at the altar of Hercius, god of enclosures (Arr. i. 11. 8), either to placate the manes of a man slain by a descendant of Aeacus, or on account of the kinship which he was supposed to have with the people of Ilium because Neoptolemus had married Andromachê, the wife of Hector (Justin xvii. 3. 5). Having ascended to Ilium, he hung up his armour in the temple of Minerva and took down another suit which was said to have lasted since the Trojan war, and it is said that he was clad in this when he fought with the satraps of Darius at the river Granicus (Diod. xvii. 18. 1). In general, he delighted in elegant arms and kept them in fine condition. Some of them were spoils taken in war, others were gifts of kings and peoples. His arms were for a long time venerated in later ages; one of the Roman generals after subduing Pontus (Pompey; App. De Bell. Mith. *xii. 117) adorned his triumph with Alexander's cloak, another (Caligula; Suet.* Calig. *19. 2) rode over the bridge, which he had made across the sea in imitation of Darius and Xerxes, clad in a breastplate of Alexander.*

After this, Alexander, leaving the temple of Minerva, went to Arisbê (Arr. i. 12. 6), where the Macedonians who had crossed with Parmenion had encamped. On the following day he hastened past Percotê and Lampsacus to the river Practius, which, rising in the mountains of Ida, flows between the territories of Lampsacus and Abydus; then, gradually bending towards the north, it empties into the Propontis. Next, having passed by Hermotus, he led on to Colonae, a town of the Lampsaceni. Having received all these in surrender (for he also pardoned the Lampsaceni), he sent Panegorus to receive the city of the [illegible] inhabitants surrendered. Amyntas, son of Arrabaeus, with four squadrons of scouting cavalry

and one of the Apolloniates, which Socrates commanded, was ordered to go and reconnoitre; for the enemy were near by, preparing for war with the greatest anxiety and care. Among them Memnon far surpassed the rest in military skill; he strongly advised them to withdraw and to spoil far and wide everything which could be useful to the enemy (Arr. i. 2. 11; Diod. xvii. 18. 2), trample down with the cavalry whatever herbage there was in the plain, and burn villages and cities, leaving nothing but the bare soil.

"The Macedonian," he said, "had come with provisions for barely one month, intending after that to live upon plunder. If that supply should be taken from him, Alexander would soon withdraw; thus safety would be gained for all Asia at slight expense. The remedy was an unpleasant one, but in all affairs, when danger threatens, prudent men look to see how it can be avoided with the least loss; thus physicians, if they see that disease in an infected part of the body is passing to the other parts, gain safety for the entire body by the sacrifice of one member. Nor would the Persians do this without precedent. Darius once devastated those very regions and cities, in order that they might not receive the Scythians, who were about to cross that way.

"On the contrary, if they should contend in battle, the die was cast for the main contest, for once the Persians were defeated, that whole region would be in Alexander's power; and if they were victorious, they would gain nothing. And, by Heaven! no slight danger threatened because of the Macedonian phalanx, to which they would vainly oppose their infantry, even though it was superior in numbers. Then, too, the presence of the king was of no little effect for victory; soldiers fighting in the sight of their rulers were aroused by hope, by shame, by glory;

all these the Macedonians would have; on their side Darius was absent. No one doubted that it was better to wage war in another's land than in one's own; they would attain that advantage if they followed his plan and thought of invading Macedonia."

This speech was pleasing to none of the other leaders. "That plan," they said, "perhaps might seem good to Memnon, a Rhodian, to whom it was advantageous for the war to be prolonged, in order that he might enjoy for a longer time honours and pay from the king" (Arr. i. 12. 10). To the Persians it seemed shameful to betray the peoples entrusted to their protection, nor could it be excused to the king, who had recommended a far different plan for waging war. And in fact, Darius, on hearing that Alexander had moved from Macedon, had sent letters to his generals to remind the mad young son of Philip, with the scourge, of his age and condition; then to dress him in a purple robe and bring him to Darius in fetters as soon as possible; they were to sink his ships with their crews in the sea and deport all his soldiers to the farthest shores of the Red Sea. To such a degree, careless of the future through pride and ignorance of his lot, had he laid aside all sense of human weakness, calling himself kinsman of the gods, rather because he seemed not unequal to them in power than because of the ancient fable (Hdt. vii. 150), according to which the Persian kings were said to be descended from Perseus, son of Jupiter. He had ordered a letter full of the same insolence to be written shortly before to the Athenians, and had added (Aeschines, contra Ctes. 238)*: "since they had preferred the friendship of the Macedonian, they must henceforth ask him for no more money; for he would not send it, even if they asked for it."*

Alexander, when he had reached the land given to

Memnon by the king of the Persians, ordered his men to abstain from doing harm and to spare the farmers and the crops (Polyaen. Strat. iv. 3. 15), intending by a clever stratagem to throw suspicion on an active commander and the only one of all the leaders of the enemy whom he did not despise (Curt. iii. 1. 21), if he should be unable to induce him to desert to him. And when some, wondering at the indulgence of the king (Themist. Orat. 9), said that the bitterest and most skilful enemy of the Macedonians ought to be killed as soon as he got him into his power, and in the meantime ought to be vexed by as many disasters as possible, Alexander replied: "Nay, rather we will win him by favours and make him a friend instead of an enemy, in order that he may aid us by that same valour and skill."

They had come to the plains of Adrastea (Strabo xiii. 1. 13, p. 588), through which the Granicus River rolls in headlong course. Then some of the scouts which Alexander had sent ahead with Hegelochus (Arr. i. 13. 2) returned and reported that the Persians had halted on the farther bank of the river with their troops drawn up in order of battle. Having delayed for a while in order to take advice about crossing the river, the king ordered the leaders to be called together. To the greater number of them it seemed a rash and vain attempt to try to force the passage of a deep river with so many thousand cavalry and infantry holding its bank, which was by nature steep and difficult (Plut. Alex. xvi. 1); there were some who added that the month of Daesius (for it was that month, corresponding to June) was regarded among the Macedonians as unpropitious for undertaking enterprises (Plut. Alex. l.c.). Although not at all anxious about the danger, the king did not reject the superstition, knowing how much power a vain religious scruple had over uneducated minds.

Therefore he made proclamation that the name of the previous month should be repeated and that the present one should be called Artemisius instead of Daesius (*Plut.* Alex. *xvi. 2; Scaliger*, De Emend. Temp. *I*). *And in order more effectually to encourage their anxious minds, he ordered Aristander* (*for it chanced that he was offering sacrifice for a successful crossing*) *to be secretly admonished to mark with paint the hand in which he was about to receive the entrails, with letters in reverse order; these the liver, when placed upon them with its heat still fresh, would receive and show them in the right order* (*Frontinus*, Strat. *i. 11. 14*). *The meaning of the letters was: "The gods grant Alexander victory." That miracle, when made generally known, filled all with such hope for the future that they raised a unanimous shout that, after these sure signs of heaven's favour, no hesitation should be felt. Thus by craft they were led to have the greatest confidence in success and grasped the victory because they thought it was theirs.*

The king, thinking that he ought to take advantage of their enthusiasm, although Parmenion warned him at least to wait for the next day (*for the greater part of that day had already passed*), *at once led his forces across the river, meeting Parmenion's anxiety with the jest that the Hellespont ought to blush, if, having passed over it, they delayed to cross this paltry brook* (*Plut.* Alex. *xvi. 2; Arr. i. 12. 6*). *Thirteen squadrons of cavalry, with the king himself, having with difficulty made their way through the opposing waters, before they had reached firm and sure ground or had reformed their ranks, which had been disordered by the crossing, were hard pressed by the Persian cavalry, which poured about them. For when, disregarding the advice of Memnon, they had resolved to fight* (*for Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, had declared that he would not allow*

even a single hut of those who were under him to be burned, and the others had agreed with him) *they had taken their place at the Granicus River with 100,000 infantry and 20,000 horsemen* (*Diod. xvii. 19. 4; Arr. i. 14. 4*), *intending to use the river as a fortification, and in turn to lock it, as the gate of Asia, against the coming of Alexander.*

When his arrival was known, they placed the cavalry, of which the strength of their forces consisted, in such a way that opposite the right wing of the Macedonians, which Alexander himself led (*for to Parmenion he had entrusted the left wing*), *Memnon with his sons and Arsanes the Persian stood; in the same part Arsites was in charge of the auxiliaries of Paphlagonian horsemen; in reserve was Spithridates, son-in-law of the king; the satrap of Libya and Ionia was accompanied by his brother Rhosaces and the Hyrcanian cavalry. On the right wing were 2000 Medic cavalry, followed by Rheomithres with the same number of Bactrians. The centre was commanded by Pharnaces, brother of the queen, Arbupales, grandson of Artaxerxes through Darius, and Mithrobarzanes, governor of Cappadocia. To these Niphates and Petanes, with Arsaces and Atizyes, had added the cavalry of various nations.*

These forces, then, with the advantage in numbers and position, heavily pressed the Macedonians, and a fierce battle followed. The greatest danger of all was to Alexander, who was conspicuous for his arms, his deeds, and the orders which he gave, and hence was the main object of attack. Assailed at once by the bravest of the leaders of the enemy, Rhosaces and Spithridates (*Plut.* Alex. *xvi. 4; Arr. i. 15. 7-8*), *he was in extreme peril. For his lance was shattered against the cuirass of Spithridates. As he drew his sword, Rhosaces, riding up*

from one side, gave him such a blow with his scimitar that he sheared off the crest of his helmet and one of its plumes, while the blade of the sword grazed the king's hair. He was preparing to deal a second stroke where the broken helmet showed the king's bare head, when Clitus anticipated him (Curt. viii. 1. 41); for perceiving the danger to the king, he had rushed upon Rhosaces like a madman, and cut off the barbarian's arm with the scimitar which it held. At the same time Spithridates was slain by Alexander's sword.

Yet the Persian cavalry fought no less valiantly, until, panic-stricken by the death of their leaders, many of whom had already fallen, and at the same time because the phalanx had now crossed the river, they wheeled about their horses and fled. And the infantry did not long resist; believing that their cavalry was more than strong enough to crush the enemy, they had been thinking more of booty than of battle. The mercenaries, however, commanded by Omares, taking their place on an eminence, were protecting themselves valiantly, since they were troops who would receive no conditions of surrender. Therefore more of the Macedonians were lost in that contest than in the cavalry battle; the king himself also, while he was attacking the enemy among the foremost, was so near extreme danger that by the stroke of a sword driven through its side his horse was killed under him (Plut. Alex. *xvi. 7). Greatly enraged by all this, he surrounded the enemy with both the cavalry and the phalanx, and cut them to pieces except about 2000, who surrendered. In all, about 20,000 of their infantry and 2000 cavalry were slain (Plut.* l.c.*; cf. Diod. xvii. 21. 6). Of the leaders, Memnon fled, along with Arsaces, Rheomithres, and Atizyes; the rest fell with honourable wounds. Arsites, when he had returned to Phrygia, since not undeservedly*

he was regarded as the cause of the defeat,[a] *took his own life* (*Arr. i. 16. 3*). *Alexander in that battle lost few indeed, but they were his bravest men; about thirty infantry and seventy-five horsemen had fallen* (*Plut.* Alex. *xvii. 7; Justin xi. 6. 8; Arr. i. 16. 4 f.*).

To show to all what the reward for valour would be in either fortune, he enriched the survivors with the wealth of the Persians, and buried the bodies of the dead magnificently with their arms and the rest of their adornment; to the parents and children of the slain he granted freedom from all taxes and personal services (*Arr. i. 16. 5*). *He gave attentive care to the wounded; for in person he went to all the tents and examined each man, showing his solicitude even for the common soldiers, and he consoled the hard lot of each one by generosity and praises, or by promises. This humanity made them most faithful to him in all future dangers; nor did anyone refuse to give his life for a king who suffered neither their life to be in want nor their death unhonoured.*

Special honour was shown to twenty-five horsemen of the Companion Cavalry, who, fighting in an unfavourable position at the beginning of the battle, had been overthrown by the superior numbers of the enemy; for the king commissioned Lysippus, by whom alone, because of his skill, he himself had consented to be sculptured in bronze, to make bronze statues of them (*Arr. i. 16. 4*), *which were set up at Dium, a town of Macedonia, and after long ages were taken by Quintus Metellus to Rome* (*Vell. Paterc. i. 11. 3, 4*).

The chief glory of this victory belonged rightfully to the king; he had drawn up his line of battle admirably, and had led the ranks through the river on a slant, in order

[a] Perhaps because of his strong opposition to Memnon's plan of action.

that when they came out of the water they might not immediately be attacked by the Persians (Arr. i. 14. 7). Then he aroused them, when disordered and in fear, by exhorting them at least once more to attack the foe vigorously (Polyaen. Strat. *iv. 38). His personal prowess was not less noteworthy; he slew many with his lance, others with his sword, and the enemy who stood opposite to him were the first to take flight. Also his plan of action, though seemingly rash, yet was not less reasonable; he wished to arm his men, who were about to engage with a new enemy, far superior in numbers, even with desperation, that seeing flight cut off by the interposition of the river, they might place all hope of safety in victory.*

Alexander buried the noblest of the Persians and all the Greek mercenaries who fell in their service. But those mercenaries that came alive into his power he ordered to be distributed through the slave-prisons in Macedonia, because, contrary to the general decree of the Greeks, they had fought against their country for the domination of barbarians (Arr. i. 16. 6). Nevertheless, he made an exception of the Thebans, who, after their city had been destroyed and their lands taken from them, had sinned rather from necessity than from choice; for already hatred, satisfied by so many calamities which they had suffered, had given place to mercy (Plut. Apophtheg. *40). After the battle he chose 300 shields from the spoils, to dedicate to Pallas Athenê with the proud inscription: "Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks except the Lacedaemonians, dedicated these from the Barbarians dwelling in Asia" (Arr. i. 16. 7). He had done this in order that, by sharing the glory of the victory with the Greeks, he might find them more helpful in the rest of the war; at the same time he condemned the haughtiness of the Lacedaemonians, who, by adopting an adverse plan*

and separating themselves from the rest of the Greeks, had no share in this great honour. And not forgetting his mother, whom he always honoured with special affection, he sent her all the cups, purple raiment, and other precious spoils of that kind with a few exceptions.

After the battle Alexander went again to Ilium. He gave thanks to the goddess who, when he was about to approach the decision of a most dangerous war, had aided him with arms and omens (Diod. xvii. 17. 6). He honoured her with splendid gifts, and gave Ilium (which then was only a small village) the title of city (Strabo xiii. p. 629).

Calas, leader of the Thessalians, was made satrap of Phrygia in place of Arsites. Many mountain peoples submitted, and on them he imposed the tribute which they were wont to pay to Darius, as he consistently did when he subdued the other peoples of Asia. When someone advised him that far greater tributes and revenues could be gained from so great an empire, he said that he hated a gardener who cut to the root the vegetables of which he ought to cull the leaves.

Having heard that Dascyleum was held by a Persian garrison, he sent Parmenion to the place, and the citizens at once received him; the Persians had left on hearing of the coming of the Macedonians. Alexander himself went on to Sardis, the capital of all the Persian provinces on the sea. When he was about seventy stadia from the city, Mithrenes came to him and surrendered the city, with the citadel and the money which was kept in it (Arr. i. 18. 3; Curt. iii. 12. 6). Congratulating himself on the easy victory, Alexander decided to build a temple there to Jupiter Olympius (Arr. i. 18. 5). When he was considering where to build it, a tempest overthrew a part of the citadel where the ancient palace of the Lydian kings stood,

and he decided to build it there. He allowed the Lydians to use their own laws. Mithrenes he kept with him and treated him with honour, in order to induce others to follow his example, and later he gave him Armenia to govern (Curt. v. 1. 44). From documents in the citadel he learned that Demosthenes had received a great amount of gold with which to arouse war against the Macedonians. Alexander did nothing about this, but determined to keep an eye on Athens and Demosthenes. He also paid attention to Phocion, and later he deemed only him and Antipater worthy of salutation in his letters (Plut. Phoc. *xvii. 6).*

All this happened later. At the time, he hastened to Ephesus and entered the city on the fourth day after leaving Sardis; he restored the exiles and turned the government over to the people. They demanded the punishment of those who had called in Memnon, those who had pillaged the temple of Artemis and overthrown the statue of Philip in it, and those who had dug up the tomb of Heropythus in the forum, dedicated to the liberator of their city (Arr. i. 17. 11). At Ephesus he went frequently to the studio of Apelles by whom alone he wished to be painted (Plin. N.H. *xxxv. 10 (85)). That he was ridiculed by Apelles for ignorant criticism of his paintings (Ael.* V.H. *ii. 3) I do not believe; for the tale is not consistent with the majesty of the king and the modesty of the painter, who was neither stupid nor ignorant; Alexander, too, had been trained in all liberal arts, and had learned to show good judgement even in those in which he had no skill. It is more probable that the story applies to a priest of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and Zeuxis (Ael.* V.H. *ii. 2).*

Since the temple, which had been burned by Herostratus, was being restored, Alexander ordered the tribute which had formerly been paid to Darius to be paid to Artemis,

and renewed the temple's right of asylum, which he knew had in ancient times saved Father Liber and Hercules (*Tac.* Ann. *iii. 61*). *Afterwards, when he had subdued Asia, he wrote to the Ephesians that he would make good all the money which had been spent on the temple; also that any amount that they required besides he would furnish from his own means, on condition that his name should be inscribed on the restored work* (*Strabo xiv. 1. 22, p. 641*). *The Ephesians were unwilling to do this, but because it was difficult to refuse anything that Alexander asked, they resorted to flattery and said that it was beneath his dignity to consecrate anything to the gods, since he himself was a god; that such honour was paid by men to a more powerful and sublime nature. The amount which was spent upon the temple may be estimated from one painting, which cost twenty talents. It represented Alexander holding a thunderbolt, and Apelles had pictured the king with inimitable skill, using only four colours, in order to make the work a greater wonder to experts* (*Pliny*, N.H. *xxxv. 10. 36* (*92*)).

At about the same time the Smyrneans recovered their ancient splendour. After old Smyrna was destroyed by the arms of the Lydians, the people had lived for 400 years in villages. The king restored the city about twenty stadia from the sea, as the result of a dream. Antigonus had the glory of finishing it, when Alexander a little later made him governor of Lydia, Phrygia, and the neighbouring regions. The Clazomenians dwell in the Gulf of Smyrna, where the land is narrowest and forms a peninsula by attaching to the mainland the lands which advance into the sea for about sixty stadia. Alexander, examining the nature of the place, decided to cut a canal and join the upper and the lower harbours (*Plin.* N.H. *v. 29. 31* (*116*)). *They say that this was the one thing that did not turn out*

according to the king's desires, and hence gave currency to the proverb, "it is not lawful for men to change the form which Nature has given to places," especially after others had tried to make similar changes without success.

Alexander himself hastened to Miletus with the infantry which he had with him and with a squadron of cavalry, including the Companions. Hegesistratus, commander of the Milesian garrison, had held out hope of surrender (Arr. i. 18. 4), but after he knew that the Persian fleet was near, he tried to save the town for Darius. Alexander first took the outer city, for the citizens and the soldiers had withdrawn to the inner city to wait for the arrival of aid. But the coming of the Macedonian fleet, which under Nicanor had anchored at the island of Ladê above Miletus (Arr. l.c.), made their hope vain, and Alexander gained possession of the city. He spared the Greek mercenaries and took them into his service; he made slaves of the barbarians, but restored freedom to the surviving Milesians, because of the ancient glory of the city. Many of the Milesians had won prizes in sacred contests; when Alexander saw the great number of statues of the victors, he said: "Where were the strong arms of these men when you received the Persian yoke?"

Since the large fleet of the barbarians was sailing the seas and challenging the Macedonians to a sea-fight, and were often seen off the very harbour of the city in which the king had launched his ships, he sent Philotas with the cavalry and three cohorts of infantry to Mount Mycalê, where the Persians had their naval station, to prevent them from going inland and getting water, wood, and other necessities. This reduced the barbarians to the greatest straits, and after holding a council they went off to Samos (Arr. i. 19. 8). Having got supplies from there, they returned to Miletus and lay before the mouth of the

harbour in order of battle. After a vain attack on the Macedonian fleet, in which they lost one ship, they left Miletus.

Alexander, since he knew that his fleet was not a match for that of the enemy, and was useless for other purposes, but yet required many heavy expenses, decided to disband it (Arr. i. 20. 1), retaining only a few ships for carrying the artillery and other materials for besieging cities. Parmenion tried to dissuade him, and urged him to contend with the Persians in a sea-fight (Arr. i. 18. 6 ff.). Alexander, however, insisted that Parmenion was mistaken in thinking it advisable to expose his ships, which were fewer in number and with inexperienced crews, to well-trained men, skilful in naval affairs. A defeat would have serious consequences; for all Asia would be encouraged if a disaster should be suffered early in the war, and even the Greeks could not be counted upon to remain faithful under such circumstances. It was more important to get control of the sea-coast cities (Plut. Alex. *xviii. 6 ff.), which would make the enemy's fleet helpless.*

Accordingly, having disbanded his fleet, he left Pontus and the adjacent regions to his generals to subjugate. He himself moved into Caria; for he knew that a great force of the enemy had gathered in that place. Halicarnassus, strongly fortified by nature and protected by a double citadel (Strabo xiv. p. 657), offered hope that the Macedonians, rushing on like a torrent, might be checked by that city, as if by a dyke. The Persians entertained special hope from Memnon, who was preparing everything with the greatest care to stand a siege; for lately he had been appointed by Darius commander of the sea-coast and the whole fleet. But Alexander, on entering Caria, in a short time got possession of all the cities between Miletus and Halicarnassus; for most of them were inhabited by

Greeks, to whom he was accustomed to restore immunity and their own laws, declaring that he had come into Asia to free them (Diod. xvii. 24. 1). And he gained no less favour from the barbarians after he had courteously received Ada, a lady of royal blood who had implored his protection and begged him to restore her to her throne. When he had finally taken Halicarnassus, he ordered all Caria to obey her (Arr. i. 23. 8). Meanwhile, the report of his kind reception of the queen won over to him numerous cities in that region, since many of them were ruled by her kinsmen or friends.

Already almost all Caria had submitted to Alexander; but the principal city of the kingdom, Halicarnassus, was held by a strong garrison. Conjecturing that the siege would be a long one, the king ordered provisions and engines for a siege to be brought there in ships. He himself with his infantry fortified a camp five stadia from the city (Arr. i. 20. 2). When he was approaching the walls near the gate which faces Mylassa, the inhabitants made a sudden sally; but the Macedonians resisted bravely and the enemy were repulsed without great difficulty with the loss of some of their men (Arr. l.c.). *A few days later, when Alexander hoped to get possession of a town of the Myndenses by betrayal (Arr.* l.c.), *he set out on a stormy night with a part of his forces; but he had to attack the town without proper siege materials and the attempt to take it failed. The siege of Halicarnassus continued for a long time with various attacks and sallies, in one of which the veteran Atarrhias aroused the younger troops who were giving way and brought victory to the Macedonians (Curt. v. 2. 5; viii. 1. 36). After this contest, which exhausted the strength of the besieged, they set fire to the town; the strongest of the townsmen and soldiers took possession of a citadel situated on an island and the others retired to*

another citadel called Salmacis (Arr. i. 23. 3). Alexander destroyed the city itself and ordered Ptolemy to surround the citadel with a wall and a trench and keep watch of them, leaving him to protect Caria with 3000 foreign soldiers and 200 horsemen. Ptolemy not long afterwards joined his forces with Asander, governor of Lydia, and defeated Orontobates in battle. Finally the Macedonians, angry and wearied by the long delay, applied themselves vigorously to the attack, and took the two citadels (Curt. iii. 7. 4; Arr. ii. 5. 7).

But the king, having in mind Phrygia and the adjacent provinces, sent Parmenion with the Companion Cavalry, the auxiliary horsemen, and the Thessalians which Alexander Lyncestes commanded, to Sardis; from there he was to force his way into Phrygia and get ready provisions and fodder from the enemy for the king's coming. He sent home some of the Macedonian soldiers, whom he knew to have taken wives a little before that expedition, to pass the winter with their wives, and with them he sent two generals, Coenus and Meleager, who had recently taken wives. This gratified the soldiers and made them readier for long service. The generals were ordered, while they were in Macedonia, to hold many levies, and bring back at the beginning of spring the greatest possible number of infantry and cavalry, as well as those who were then leaving for home. Perceiving that the army was being infected with Asiatic habits, and that a great number of shameless men were kept in the camp, he ordered all these to be carefully hunted up and banished to a small island in the Gulf of Ceramicus; and the ill fame clung to the place, which is called Cinaedopolis (Plin. N.H. v. 31 (11)).

Alexander, determined on his plan of getting all the seacoast into his power and making the enemy's fleet useless (Arr. i. 24. 3), having received the Hypani, who had

surrendered the citadel which they were holding as mercenaries, hastened into Lycia. There, having made friendship with the Telmessi and crossed the river Xanthus, he received in surrender a city of the same name as the river, as well as Pinara and Patara, famous cities of that region, and about thirty others, and having arranged matters sufficiently for the present, he advanced into Milyas. Milyas is a part of Greater Phrygia, but it had pleased the Persian kings to assign it to Lydia. While he was receiving it, envoys of the Phaselitae came, begging for friendship, and offered a golden crown as a gift of hospitality ; and envoys from many cities of lower Lycia sought the same. Accordingly, the king sent men ahead, to whom the Phaselitae and the Lycians were to surrender their towns, and went a few days later to Phaselis. The people of that city were just at that time attacking a strong garrison which the Pisidae had constructed in their territory and which had inflicted many injuries upon the neighbours ; this was quickly captured on the arrival of Alexander.

In the city of the Phaselitae the king gave several days to quiet, in order to refresh himself and his army. The time of year also invited this, for the winter had already made the roads difficult for advancing. But his peace was broken by a sad message from Parmenion. He had seized a Persian, Sisines by name, sent by Darius, ostensibly to visit Atizyes, satrap of Phrygia (Arr. i. 25. 3), but with secret instructions to contrive secretly to meet Alexander Lyncestes, and to promise him, if he carried out his design, the rule of Macedonia and 1000 talents of gold. For Lyncestes had formed a wicked plot with the deserter Amyntas, and had taken upon himself the part of killing the king ; for he hated him for other reasons, and also because he had put to death Heromenes and Arrabaeus,

brothers of Lyncestes, as implicated in the assassination of Philip.

When the matter had been taken into consultation, his friends blamed the king for his mild treatment of Lyncestes, against whom he had been warned by his mother (Diod. xvii. 34. 2) as well as by a portent (Ael. Hist. Anim. *x. 34). Alexander thereupon, not wishing to trust to a letter, sent Amphoterus, the brother of Craterus, secretly to Parmenion, with instructions what to do. Lyncestes was arrested, but was not put to death until three years later in connexion with the conspiracy of Philotas (Curt. vii. 1. 8 f.). Leaving Phaselis, Alexander sent a part of his forces through the mountains to Perga; he himself led the rest along the shore of the Pamphylian Sea, which is impassable with a south wind, but on the king's arrival a strong north wind arose and opened a passage for the Macedonians (Arr. i. 26. 1 f.). Even so, it was necessary to make one day's march over unfamiliar shoals with the water up to their waists (Curt. v. 3. 22; vi. 3. 16;* cf. *Plut.* Alex. *xvii. 3 f.).*

Alexander's great courage in times of danger was undoubtedly inborn; but I am inclined to believe that it was increased when he had learned from many prodigies and omens that he was destined by the will of a divine power for great and glorious deeds. While he was still in Macedonia, he saw in a dream a man more august and venerable than an ordinary human being, who advised Alexander to follow him to Asia, in order to overthrow the Persian empire as soon as possible (Josephus, Antiq. *xi. 5). When he was making war in Phoenicia, he was reminded of the dream, when a priest of the Jews came before him in whom he recognized the apparition which he had seen in his sleep. For when he was besieging Tyre, he had summoned the kings and peoples of the neighbour-*

hood to surrender and to hold levies. But the Jews, who held the famous city of Jerusalem, rejected his friendship, giving as an excuse their treaty with Darius. To punish the obstinacy of the race, he moved his troops into Judaea, but the people of Jerusalem, in order to appease the king's anger, poured out to meet him with their wives and children. The priests marched first, clad in linen robes, the people followed, also clad in white. The procession was led by Jaddus, who was then high priest, in his official attire.

The king, admiring the grace and beauty of the procession, leaped from his horse and advanced alone to meet them, and venerating the name of God, which the pontifical mitre displayed, inscribed on a golden plate, he reverently saluted the high priest also. This unexpected act amazed all who had come with the king ; the Jews, released from the fear of imminent death, surrounded him with mingled praises, thanks, and prayers. When Parmenion ventured to ask the king why he paid such honour to foreign ceremonials, Alexander told him of his dream. Then he entered the beautiful temple,[a] sacrificed to God according to the native custom, and gave gifts to the temple. The king also inspected the sacred books of the race, in which were contained prophecies written long before, among them that Tyre would yield to the Macedonians (Isaiah xi. 5) and that the Persians would be conquered by a Greek (Daniel viii. 12).[b] Alexander, referring this to himself, granted the Jews permission to use their own laws and rites at home and abroad, and because every seventh year they did not work the earth, he relieved them of that proportion of their tribute. He made Andromachus governor of those regions ; him the Samaritans, perpetual enemies

[a] At Jerusalem.

[b] An obviously mythical story. The book of Daniel was probably written long afterward.

of the Jews, a little later put to a cruel death (Curt. iv. 8. 9).

These things happened after the storming of Tyre and Gaza; we have anticipated them since the occasion[a] *suggested it.*

After subduing various peoples, the king went on to Phrygia along the lake of Ascania (Arr. i. 29. 1) and in five days reached Celaenae. While this was going on, Memnon got together from all sides the remains of his forces and, in order to divert Alexander's attention from Asia, turned his thoughts to making war on Greece and Macedonia; for Darius, feeling the most confidence in him after he had at Halicarnassus by his valour and skill delayed the victor's onset, had given him supreme command and a great sum of money. Memnon had assembled as great a force of mercenaries as he could and with a fleet of 300 ships was sailing the seas. He seized the places which were less carefully guarded, including Lampsacus, and attacked the islands, which for lack of ships the Macedonians could not protect. He was aided also by dissensions; for although the greater number favoured Alexander as the author of their freedom, many who had gained wealth under the Persians preferred their own power under their former masters to a republic in which all men were equal. For that reason Athenagoras and Apollonides received Memnon in Chios and in consequence the city was taken and a garrison placed there.

From there going to Lesbos Memnon easily took Antissa, Pyrrha, and Eressus (Diod. xvii. 29. 2; Arr. ii. 1). He made Aristonicus tyrant of Methymnê (Curt. iv. 5. 19) and reduced the whole island except Mitylenê. While he was besieging Mitylenê, he fell ill and died, and thus

[a] *e.g.*, the miraculous (?) passage along the Pamphylian coast; but *cf.* Plut. *Alex.* xvii. 4.

disappointed the great hopes of the Persians with irreparable loss to them (*Diod.* l.c.). *When he was near death he turned over his command to Pharnabazus, his sister's son, whose father was Artabazus, to hold until Darius, on hearing of Memnon's death, should decide otherwise. Pharnabazus, having shared the duties with Autophradates, commander of the fleet, at length drove the besieged so far that, having stipulated that the garrison should go out safely, they overthrew the pillars on which the treaty with Alexander had been recorded, and on promising loyalty to Darius received half of their citizens who had been banished* (*Arr. ii. 1. 4*). *The Persians, however, did not abide by the agreement, but having led soldiers into the city, made Lycomedes of Rhodes its commander; Diogenes, who had been exiled because of his devotion to the Persians, was made tyrant over his native city. Then money was taken by force from the richest citizens, but, in spite of that, a tribute was imposed, to be paid by the people of Mitylenê in general* (*Arr.* l.c.).

BOOK III

CONTENTS OF BOOK III

While Darius was mustering his forces at the Euphrates, Alexander had conquered the greater part of the western and south-western coasts of Asia Minor. After settling the affairs of Lycia and Pamphylia, he took Celaenae in Phrygia and at Gordium loosed the fateful Gordian knot; he then marched to meet Darius (i).

Darius, having encamped near Babylon, numbered his force after the example of Xerxes. He put to death Charidemus, an Athenian, because he had expressed too free an opinion of the Persian army (ii).

Darius put Thymondas in command of the Greek troops and gave Pharnabazus the power formerly held by Memnon. The king has a dream, which is variously interpreted. The Persian army is described and compared with that of the Macedonians (iii).

Alexander reached the entrance to Cilicia, called "the Gates." Arsames, governor of that province, instead of holding the narrow pass, was laying waste the whole country with fire and sword. Alexander enters Cilicia, marvelling at his good fortune, and arrives at Tarsus in time to save it from destruction by fire (iv).

When Alexander, while overheated, bathed in the cold waters of the river Cydnus, he was taken seriously ill. The anxiety of the army was great, since the king was unwilling to wait for the effect of slow remedies, seeking rather an opportunity to make war than an escape from death (v).

Philip, a faithful friend and skilful physician, promised to lessen the violence of the ailment by a medicated draught. Although Alexander received a letter from Parmenion in which he warned the king not to trust his safety to Philip, he drank the potion unterrified and was cured (vi).

Darius, on learning of Alexander's illness, hastened to take

possession of Cilicia. Alexander came to Soli, where he paid by games to Aesculapius and Minerva the vows which he had made for his safety. He then went on to Issus and decided to fight a decisive battle there (vii).

Patron, commander of Darius' Greek troops, urges him to return to Mesopotamia and encounter the Macedonians there. The courtiers question Patron's motive and advise Darius to kill the Greeks as traitors. The king refuses, and boasts greatly of his strength. He sends his money and valuables to Damascus, but met the Macedonians at Issus (viii).

A description of the arrangement of each army ; of that of Darius the Greeks formed the main strength ; of Alexander's the phalanx and the cavalry. The Persian forces covered whatever room there was in the narrow space, but their army, made up of many nations, was confused and ineffective (ix).

Alexander, after warning his men not to enter battle at full speed, encouraged them by exhortations adapted to the spirit of each group, reminding the Macedonians of their native valour and the spoils of the Orient, the Greeks of the outrages of Xerxes, the Illyrians and Thracians of the vast and easily won booty (x).

A description of the battle and the rout of the Persians. The contest centres round the chariot of Darius, until his horses are maddened with terror and the king, fearing to be taken alive by the enemy, leaps down, is put upon a horse, and flees (xi).

Alexander, returning to camp after the pursuit of the enemy, sends Leonnatus to console the [illegible] On the following day, after burying his dead, he visits them in person and gives a noble example of compassion and continence (xii).

At Damascus the treacherous governor delivers to Parmenion the treasures of Darius and many high-born captives, whom the governor had cruelly treated. He is killed by one of his accomplices and his head taken to Darius (xiii).

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

HISTORIARUM ALEXANDRI MAGNI MACEDONIS

LIBER III

I. Inter haec Alexander, ad conducendum ex Peloponneso militem Cleandro cum pecunia misso, Lyciae Pamphyliaeque rebus compositis ad urbem Celaenas[1]
2 exercitum admovit. Media illa tempestate moenia interfluebat Marsyas, amnis fabulosis Graecorum car-
3 minibus inclitus. Fons eius, ex summo montis cacumine excurrens, in subiectam petram magno strepitu aquarum cadit; inde diffusus circumiectos rigat campos, liquidus et suas dumtaxat undas trahens.
4 Itaque color eius placido mari similis locum poetarum mendacio fecit; quippe traditum est nymphas amore
5 amnis retentas in illa rupe considere. Ceterum quamdiu intra muros fluit, nomen suum retinet; at

[1] Celaenas *Aldus;* caelenas *A.*

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[a] According to Arrian (ii. 20. 5), he brought back 4000 Greek mercenaries.

[b] *Cf.* Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 7. It was the principal city of Phrygia (Livy xxxviii. 13. 5); Apamea Cibotus was founded near its site by Antiochus Soter.

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT OF MACEDON

BOOK III

I. Meanwhile Alexander, after sending Cleander [a] with money to hire soldiers from the Peloponnesus and setting in order the affairs of Lycia and Pamphylia, moved his army to the city of Celaenae.[b] 2 Through the middle of the city at that time flowed the Marsyas, a river famed in the storied songs of the 3 Greeks. Its source, gushing forth from the summit of a mountain, falls with a great noise of its waters upon a rock below; from there, divided into several branches,[c] it irrigates the adjacent plains, clear [d] 4 and carrying only its own waters. Therefore its colour, like that of a calm sea, has given opportunity for a fancy of the poets; for it is said that nymphs, kept there by love of the river, dwell upon that 5 rock.[e] Now, so long as it flows within the city the river retains its own name, but when it rolls forth

[a] 333 B.C.

[c] Eight or nine, Pococke, *Travels*, quoted by Mützell (see Bibliographical Note, p. xxxiii).

[d] *Cf.* Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 400 *Marsya . . . Phrygiae liquidissimus amnis.*

[e] There is no other reference to this.

cum extra munimenta se evolvit, maiore vi ac mole agentem undas Lycum appellant.

6 Alexander quidem urbem destitutam ab suis intrat, arcem vero, in quam confugerant, oppugnare adortus caduceatorem praemisit, qui denuntiaret, ni dederent,
7 ipsos ultima esse passuros. Illi caduceatorem in turrem et situ et opere multum editam perductum, quanta esset altitudo intueri iubent ac nuntiare Alexandro non eadem ipsum et incolas aestimatione munimenta metiri ; se scire inexpugnabiles esse, ad
8 ultimum pro fide morituros. Ceterum ut circumsederi arcem et omnia sibi in dies artiora esse viderunt, sexaginta dierum indutias pacti, ut, nisi intra eos auxilium Dareus ipsis[1] misisset, dederent urbem, postquam nihil inde praesidii mittebatur, ad praestitutam diem permisere se regi.

9 Superveniunt deinde legati Atheniensium, petentes ut capti apud Granicum amnem redderentur sibi. Ille non hos modo, sed etiam ceteros Graecos restitui
10 suis iussurum respondit, finito Persico bello. Ceterum Dareo imminens, quem nondum Euphraten superasse cognoverat, undique omnes copias contrahit totis viribus tanti belli discrimen aditurus.

11 Phrygia erat, per quam ducebatur exercitus ; pluribus vicis quam urbibus frequens, tunc habebat nobi-

[1] ipsis *Modius;* ipse *A.*

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[a] According to Arrian (i. 29. 1), the citadel was held by a garrison of 1000 Carians and 100 Greek mercenaries under command of the satrap of Phrygia.

[b] *Sexaginta* is doubtful ; Arrian (i. 29. 2) merely says that they specified a date.

[c] Arr. i. 29. 6 gives, as Alexander's reason, that he wished to keep the Greeks on the anxious seat.

beyond the ramparts and drives on its waters with greater force and mass, they call it the Lycus, "Wolf."

6 The city, indeed, when Alexander entered it, had been abandoned by its inhabitants, but having determined to attack the citadel, in which they had taken refuge,[a] he first sent a herald, to threaten that if they did not surrender it, they would suffer the utmost
7 penalties. They led the herald to a tower raised high both by its natural situation and by the hand of man, telling them to observe how lofty it was and to report to Alexander that he and the inhabitants did not set the same value on their fortifications; that they knew them to be impregnable and were ready
8 to die as loyally as might be. But when they saw that the citadel was beset on every side, and that all their supplies were becoming scantier day by day, they bargained for a truce of sixty days,[b] agreeing that if Darius did not send them help within that time, they would surrender the city; and when no aid came to them from that quarter, on the stipulated day they gave themselves up to the king.

9 Then came envoys of the Athenians, asking that their citizens who had been taken prisoner at the river Granicus should be returned to them. Alexander replied that he would give orders that not only these but also the rest of the Greeks should be restored to their homes, as soon as the Persian war was ended.[c]
10 Then, intent upon Darius, who, as he had learned, had not yet crossed the Euphrates, he assembled all his troops from every side, intending to meet the crisis of so great a war with all his strength.

11 Phrygia was the country through which the army was being led; abounding in villages rather than in cities, it was at that time the seat of the once

12 lem quondam Midae regiam. Gordium[1] nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis praeterfluit pari inter-
13 vallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem. Inter haec maria angustissimum Asiae spatium esse comperimus, utroque in artas fauces compellente terram. Quae quia continenti adhaeret, sed magna ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulae praebet ac, nisi tenue discrimen obiceret, quae nunc dividit maria committeret.

14 Alexander, urbe in dicionem suam redacta, Iovis templum intrat. Vehiculum quo Gordium, Midae patrem, vectum esse constabat, aspexit, cultu haud
15 sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens. Notabile erat iugum adstrictum compluribus nodis in semet-
16 ipsos implicatis et celantibus nexus. Incolis deinde affirmantibus editam esse oraculo sortem, Asiae potiturum qui inexplicabile vinculum[2] solvisset, cupido
17 incessit animo sortis eius explendae. Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba et Macedonum, illa expectatione[3] suspensa, haec sollicita ex temeraria regis fiducia; quippe serie[4] vinculorum ita adstricta, ut unde nexus inciperet quove se conderet nec ratione

[1] Gordium *Lauer;* cordium *A.* [2] uinclum *PV.*
[3] expectatione *Aldus;* explicatione *A.*
[4] serie *Cellarius;* series *A.*

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[a] Curtius seems to refer to the Bay of Issus, from which the ancient geographers drew the longer diameter of the "isthmus," by way of the Cilician Pylae to the bay east of Sinopê on the Euxine; *cf.* Strabo xii. 1. 3 and Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 2. 7. A shorter line, however, which would pass near Gordium and would include in Asia Minor a more nearly homogeneous Hellenic population, was drawn from the head of the Pamphylian Sea to the bay on the Euxine west of

12 famous palace of Midas. Gordium is the city's name, and beside it flows the river Sangarius, which is equally distant from the Pontic and the Cilician sea.
13 We have been informed that between these two seas is the narrowest part of Asia, since they compress the lands into a narrow passageway. And because Asia is joined to the mainland, but is in great part surrounded by waters, it presents the appearance of an island, and were it not for this slight intervening space, what now separates the seas would unite them.[a]
14 Alexander, after reducing the city into his power, entered the temple of Jupiter. There he saw the wagon in which it was known that Gordius, the father of Midas rode,[b] and it was in no way more elegant
15 than ordinary ones in everyday use. The noteworthy feature was the yoke, which was made fast by a great number of thongs,[c] closely tangled with one
16 another and concealing their interlacings. Thereupon, since the natives declared that the oracle had predicted that whoever should loose the intricate fastening would rule over Asia, the desire entered
17 Alexander's mind of fulfilling that prophecy. Around the king stood a throng of Phrygians and Macedonians, the former on tiptoe of expectation, the latter in anxiety because of the king's rash self-confidence ; and in fact the series of thongs was so closely bound together that where a hidden interlacing began or where it ended could be made out

Heraclea Pontica. The idea that Asia Minor narrowed to a neck goes back to Herodotus (Hdt. ii. 34).

[b] When he came to Phrygia, invited to be its king ; Justin xi. 7.

[c] The knot was of cornel bark ; Arr. ii. 3. 7. Plut. *Alex.* xviii. 2 follows Aristobulus.

nec visu perspici posset, solvere aggressus, iniecerit curam ei, ne in omen verteretur irritum inceptum.
18 Ille nequiquam diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis; "Nihil," inquit, "interest quomodo solvantur," gladioque ruptis omnibus loris, oraculi sortem vel elusit vel implevit.
19 Cum deinde Dareum, ubicumque esset, occupare statuisset, ut a tergo tuta relinqueret Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellesponti, copiis autem praefecit Hegelochum, Lesbium et Chium Coumque[1] praesidiis
20 hostium[2] liberaturos. His talenta ad belli usum quingenta attributa, ad Antipatrum et eos qui Graecas urbes tuebantur DC missa, ex foedere naves sociis
21 imperatae, quae Hellesponti praesiderent. Nondum enim Memnonem vita excessisse cognoverat, in quem omnes intenderat[3] curas, satis gnarus cuncta in expedito fore, si nihil ab eo moveretur.
22 Iamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat, ubi, numero copiarum inito, Paphlagoniam intrat. Huic iuncti erant Heneti,[4] unde quidam Venetos trahere
23 originem credunt. Omnis haec regio paruit regi, datisque obsidibus, tributum, quod ne Persis quidem tulissent,[5] pendere ne cogerentur impetraverunt.
24 Calas huic regioni praepositus est; ipse, assumptis

[1] Coumque *Lauer;* quoumque *P;* choumque *C.*
[2] hostium *Lauer;* ostium *A.*
[3] intenderat *Vindelinus;* intenderet *A.*
[4] Heneti *I;* uineti *A.*
[5] tulissent *Lauer;* tulisset *A.*

[a] Aristobulus said that he took out the pole-pin, a dowel driven through the pole and holding the knot together (Arr. ii. 3. 7).

[b] In names in -o and -on it is more usual in English to use the latter form, except when, as in Plato, the name has been anglicized; hence Memnon, Parmenion, etc.

neither by the eye nor by calculation; and the king's attempt to loose the knot made the throng anxious
18 lest a failure should be regarded as an omen. After having struggled for a long time without effect against the hidden folds: "It makes no difference," said he, "how they are loosed," and cutting through[a] all the thongs with his sword, he either tricked the oracle or fulfilled it.
19 Then, since he had resolved to overtake Darius wherever he might be, in order to leave everything behind him safe he gave Amphoterus command of the fleet at the shore of the Hellespont, but Hegelochus of the land-forces, in order that these officers might free Lesbos, Chios and Cos from the enemies' gar-
20 risons. To them 500 talents were given for the expenses of the war, and to Antipater and those who were defending the Greek cities 600 talents were sent, and the allies were ordered, as was provided by their treaty, to furnish ships to guard the
21 Hellespont. For he had not yet learned of the death of Memnon,[b] against whom he had directed all his attention, knowing well enough that all would be easy if that general made no move.
22 And now he had arrived at the city of Ancyra, from which, after having numbered his forces, he entered Paphlagonia; next to this were the Heneti, from whom some believe that the Veneti derive their
23 origin. All this region yielded to Alexander, and gave hostages and obtained freedom from the obligation of paying tribute,[c] which they had not rendered
24 even to the Persians. Calas was made governor of that region, and Alexander himself, taking the troops

[c] *Tributum ferre*, for *conferre*, is poetic usage, or perhaps due to Greek influence (*φόρον φέρειν*).

qui ex Macedonia nuper advenerant, Cappadociam petiit.

II. At Dareus, nuntiata Memnonis morte haud secus quam par erat motus, omissa omni alia spe, statuit ipse decernere; quippe quae per duces suos acta erant cuncta damnabat, ratus pluribus curam, omni-
2 bus afuisse fortunam. Igitur castris ad Babylona[1] positis, quo maiore animo capesserent bellum universas vires in conspectum dedit et, circumdato vallo quod decem milium armatorum multitudinem caperet,
3 Xerxis exemplo numerum copiarum iniit.[2] Orto sole ad noctem agmina, sicut discripta erant, intravere vallum. Inde emissa occupaverant Mesopotamiae campos, equitum peditumque propemodum innumerabilis turba, maiorem quam pro numero speciem
4 ferens. Persarum erant centum milia, in quis eques xxx implebat. Medi decem milia[3] equitum, quinqua-
5 ginta peditum habebant. Barcanorum equitum duo milia fuere, armati bipennibus levibusque scutis maxime cetrae speciem reddentibus; peditum decem
6 milia pari armatu sequebantur. Armenii quadraginta milia[4] miserant peditum, additis septem milibus equitum. Hyrcani egregiorum equitum,[5] ut inter illas gentes, sex milia expleverant, additis equitibus

[1] Babylona *Zumpt;* babylonam *A.*
[2] iniit *Lauer;* init *A.*
[3] milia *added by Kinch; omitted by A.*
[4] milia *added by Lauer; A omits.*
[5] equitum *added by Hedicke; A omits.*

that had lately arrived from Macedonia, made for Cappadocia.

II. But Darius, when the death of Memnon was announced, being not less anxious than was natural, set aside all other hope, and decided to fight a decisive battle in person; for he condemned everything that had been done through his generals, believing that many of them had been lacking in care, and all in
2 good fortune. Accordingly, having encamped before Babylon,[a] he made a display of all his forces, in order that they might enter upon the war with the greater confidence, and having built a circular enclosure, capable of containing a throng of 10,000 armed men, he
3 began to number them as Xerxes[b] had done. From sunrise to nightfall the troops entered the enclosure, as they had been told off. Then, when sent out, they filled the plains of Mesopotamia, an all but innumerable mass of cavalry and foot, which gave the appear-
4 ance of being greater than it actually was. Of Persians there were 100,000, among them 30,000 horsemen.
5 The Medes had 10,000 horse and 50,000 foot. Of the Barcani there were 2000 horse, armed with double-edged axes and light shields closely resembling Spanish bucklers[c]; they were followed by 10,000 infantry, armed in the same manner as the horsemen.
6 The Armenians[d] had sent 40,000 foot-soldiers, besides 7000 cavalry. The Hyrcani had mustered 6000 as excellent horsemen as those nations could furnish,

[a] Curtius sometimes uses the Greek form of the accusative singular, regularly in this word; *cf. Sidona*, iv. 1. 15; *Parmeniona*, iii. 13. 2; *Trapezunta*, x. 10. 3.

[b] At Doriscus, a town on the coast of Thrace west of the river Hebrus; *cf.* Hdt. vii. 59.

[c] Small leather shields, Isid. *Orig.* xvii. 12. 5.

[d] Here not divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia.

7 mille Tapuris. Derbices[1] quadraginta[2] peditum milia armaverant[3]; pluribus aere aut[4] ferro praefixae hastae, quidam lignum igni duraverant. Hos quoque
8 duo milia equitum ex eadem gente comitata sunt. A Caspio mari octo milium[5] pedester exercitus venerat, ducenti equites. Cum iis erant ignobiles aliae gentes; duo milia peditum, equitum duplicem paraverant
9 numerum. His copiis triginta milia Graecorum mercede conducta egregiae iuventutis adiecta. Nam Bactrianos et Sogdianos et Indos ceterosque Rubri maris accolas, ignota etiam ipsi[6] gentium nomina,
10 festinatio prohibebat acciri. Nec quicquam illi minus quam multitudo militum defuit.

Cuius tum universae aspectu admodum laetus, purpuratis solita vanitate spem eius inflantibus, conversus ad Charidemum, Atheniensem belli peritum et ob exilium infestum Alexandro—quippe Athenis iubente eo fuerat expulsus—percontari coepit satisne
11 ei videretur instructus ad obterendum hostem. At ille, et suae sortis et regiae superbiae oblitus: "Verum," inquit, "et tu forsitan audire nolis[7] et ego,
12 nisi nunc dixero, alias nequiquam[8] confitebor. Hic tanti apparatus exercitus, haec tot gentium et totius

[1] mille Tapuris. Derbices *Foss;* militatura idem uicies *A.*
[2] quadraginta *Lauer;* quadragena *A.*
[3] armaverant *Glareanus;* armati erant *A.*
[4] aere aut *D. Voss;* herebant *A.*
[5] milium *C;* milia *P.*
[6] ipsi *A*, *defended by Post;* Persis *Eussner.*
[7] nolis] nobis *P m. pr.*
[8] nequiquam *Hedicke;* nequicquam *A.*

[a] An indefinite expression; perhaps the Caspii, iv. 12. 9.
[b] Yet the time since the battle at the Granicus was at least a year.
[c] In Greek, and so in Roman writers also, "Red" Sea

7 as well as 1000 Tapurian cavalry. The Derbices had armed 40,000 foot-soldiers; most of these carried spears tipped with bronze or iron, but some had hardened the wooden shaft by fire. These also were accompanied by 2000 horsemen from the same nation.
8 From the Caspian Sea [a] had come an infantry army of 8000, and 200 horsemen. With these were other less known nations; they had mustered 2000 foot and
9 twice that number of horsemen. To these forces were added 30,000 Greek mercenaries, excellent young soldiers. However, his haste [b] prevented the summoning of the Bactriani, the Sogdiani, the Indi, and other dwellers near the Red Sea,[c] whose names
10 were unknown even to Darius himself. But there was nothing which he lacked less than numbers of soldiers.

Extravagantly happy at the appearance of the throng then assembled, while his courtiers puffed up his hope with their usual empty flattery, turning to Charidemus,[d] an Athenian skilled in warfare and because of his banishment hating Alexander—for it was by his order that Charidemus had been expelled from Athens [e]—he began to ask the Greek whether he seemed to him sufficiently equipped to trample
11 down his enemy. But Charidemus, forgetting his condition [f] and the pride of kings, replied: "You perhaps would not wish to hear the truth, but I, if I do not speak now, at some other time shall admit
12 it in vain. This army so splendidly equipped, this

often includes the real Red Sea, the Arabian Gulf, the Persian Gulf, and even the Indian Ocean.

[a] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 30. 4, who puts his death immediately after that of Memnon. [e] See Arr. i. 10. 4-6.

[f] *Cf.* ix. 2. 6 *ultimae sortis.*

Orientis excita sedibus suis moles, finitimis potest esse terribilis; nitet purpura auroque, fulget armis et opulentia, quantam qui oculis non subiecere
13 animis concipere non possunt. Sed Macedonum acies, torva sane et inculta, clipeis hastisque immobiles cuneos et conferta robora virorum tegit.[1] Ipsi phalangem vocant, peditum stabile agmen: vir viro, armis arma conserta sunt. Ad nutum monentis intenti, sequi signa, ordines servare didicerunt; quod
14 imperatur omnes exaudiunt. Obsistere, circumire, discurrere in cornu, mutare pugnam[2] non duces magis quam milites callent.

15 "Ac ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistra stetit; fatigatis humus cubile est, cibus quem occupati rapiunt[3] satiat,
16 tempora somni artiora quam noctis sunt. Iam Thessali equites et Acarnanes Aetolique, invicta bello manus, fundis, credo, et hastis igne duratis repellentur! Pari robore opus est. In illa terra, quae hos genuit, auxilia quaerenda sunt; argentum istud atque aurum ad conducendum militem mitte."
17 Erat Dareo mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam naturam plerumque Fortuna corrumperet. Itaque veritatis impatiens hospitem ac supplicem, tunc cum

[1] tegit *I;* teget *A*.

[2] *What follows as far as* § *18*, vociferantem *is for the most part lacking in V; a part of a leaf is torn off.*

[3] rapiunt *Hedicke;* parant *A*.

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[a] *Oculis subicere* is a common expression in Livy; *cf.* xxxvii. 26. 6, and Drakenborch's note.

[b] *i.e.* protects; see iv. 15. 16; Livy xxxii. 17.

[c] *Cf.* Livy ix. 19. 8 (of the Macedonians) *statarius miles.*

[d] For *pugna* almost=*acies cf.* Livy xxii. 45. 8; for an example of *mutare aciem* Sall. *Jug.* xlix. 6, with the note in the L.C.L. *Sallust.*

throng of so many nations and of the whole Orient, called forth from their homes, may be a cause of terror to their neighbours; it gleams with purple and gold, is resplendent with arms and with riches so great that those who have not seen them with their
13 own eyes [a] cannot imagine them. But the Macedonian army, savage, it is true, and without adornment, covers [b] with its shields and spears immovable wedges and serried power of men. They themselves call it the phalanx, a steadfast [c] body of infantry; man stands close to man, weapons are joined to weapons. Intent upon the nod of their commander, they have learned to follow the standards, to keep their ranks;
14 what is ordered all obey. How to oppose, make circuits, run to support either wing, to change the order of battle [d] the soldiers are as well skilled as their leaders.

15 "And do not suppose that they are led by a desire for gold and silver; so far they have maintained that discipline in the school of poverty; when they are wearied, the earth [e] is their bed, such food as they can snatch amid toil satisfies them, their time for
16 sleep is shorter than the night. The Thessalian, the Acarnanian, and the Aetolian horsemen, invincible in war, will forthwith, forsooth, be repulsed by slings and by spears hardened in the fire! Strength like theirs is what you need; in that land which gave them birth you must look for aid: send that
17 silver and gold of yours to hire soldiers." Darius had a mild and tractable disposition, but as a rule Fortune perverts even Nature. So, incapable of hearing the truth, he ordered a guest and a suppliant to be

[a] *Cf.* Sen. *Cons. ad Helv.* vii. 10; Amm. xxii. 4. 6.

maxime utilia suadentem, abstrahi iussit ad capitale
18 supplicium. Ille ne tum quidem libertatis oblitus :
" Habeo," inquit, " paratum mortis meae ultorem ;
expetet poenas consilii mei spreti is[1] ipse contra
quem tibi suasi. Tu quidem licentia regni tam subito
mutatus documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se
permisere Fortunae, etiam naturam dediscere."
Haec vociferantem quibus imperatum erat iugulant.
19 Sera deinde paenitentia subiit[2] regem ac vera dixisse
confessus sepeliri eum iussit.

III. Thymondas[3] erat, Mentoris filius, impiger
iuvenis ; cui praeceptum est a rege, ut omnes pere-
grinos milites, in quis plurimum habebat spei, a
Pharnabazo acciperet, opera eorum usurus in bello.
Ipsi Pharnabazo tradit imperium, quod antea Mem-
noni dederat.

2 Anxium deinde[4] instantibus curis agitabant etiam
per somnum species imminentium rerum, sive illas
aegritudo, sive divinatio animi praesagientis acce-
3 siit.[5] Castra Alexandri magno ignis fulgore collucere
ei visa sunt et paulo post Alexander adduci ad ipsum
in eo vestis habitu, quo ipse factus rex[6] fuisset, equo
deinde per Babylona vectus, subito cum ipso equo

[1] is *P; C omits.* [2] subiit *I;* subit *A.*
[3] Thymondas *Hedicke;* thimodes *A.*
[4] deinde *Hedicke;* de *A.*
[5] accersiit *Hedicke;* accersit *A.*
[6] factus rex *added by Hedicke.*

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[a] The indic. in such subordinate clauses is not uncommon in Curtius ; here perhaps, as in some other instances, there is iterative force.

[b] Curtius uses *fortuna* of both good-fortune and ill-fortune, and sometimes, as here, we clearly have personification (*Fortuna*).

[c] Nephew of Memnon and a high officer in his fleet ;

dragged off to execution, at the very moment when he
18 was giving most salutary advice. The Greek, not even then forgetful of his free birth, said : " I have at hand an avenger of my death ; that very man against whom I have warned you will exact punishment for the scorning of my advice. You for your part, so suddenly changed by the licence of royal power, will be a lesson to coming generations that when men have surrendered [a] themselves to Fortune,[b] they forget even their very nature." As Charidemus was shouting these words, those to whom the order
19 had been given cut his throat. Afterwards, too late, the king repented, and admitting that the Greek had spoken the truth, gave orders that he be given funeral rites.

III. Thymondas, son of Mentor, was an energetic young man ; he was ordered by the king to take over from Pharnabazus [c] all the foreign soldiers in whom Darius had the greatest confidence : Thymondas was to use their services in the war. To Pharnabazus himself he transferred the command which he had previously given to Memnon.

2 Then, worried as he was by pressing cares, he was also tormented in sleep by visions of imminent dangers, whether these were called up by anxiety or
3 by the divining power of a prophetic mind.[d] Alexander's camp seemed to him to shine with a great glow of fire, and he dreamed that a little later Alexander was brought to him in the garb in which he himself had been made king, and that then, riding on horseback through Babylon, he had vanished from his

Memnon with his dying breath left him the command (Arr. ii. 1. 3), which was confirmed by Darius (Curt. iv. 1. 37).

[d] See Cicero, *De Div.* i. 55. 124 ff. ; *cf.* i. 31. 65 ff.

4 oculis esse subductus.[1] Ad haec vates varia interpretatione curam distrinxerant; alii laetum id regi somnium esse dicebant, quod castra hostium arsissent, quod Alexandrum deposita regia veste in Persico et vulgari habitu perductum ad se[2] vidisset, quidam
5 non: augurabantur quippe illustria Macedonum castra visa fulgorem Alexandro portendere; cui vel[3] regnum Asiae occupare fatum esse[4] haud ambigue doceri[5] quoniam in eodem habitu Dareus fuisset, cum
6 appellatus est rex. Vetera quoque omina, ut fere,[6] sollicitudo revocaverat; recensebant enim Dareum in principio imperii vaginam acinacis Persicam iussisse mutari[7] in eam formam qua Graeci uterentur, protinusque Chaldaeos interpretatos, imperium Persarum ad eos transiturum, quorum arma esset imitatus.
7 Ceterum ipse et vatum responso, quod edebatur in vulgus, et specie quae per somnum oblata erat, admodum laetus castra ad Euphraten moveri iubet.
8 Patrio more Persarum traditum est orto sole demum procedere. Die iam illustri signum e tabernaculo regis bucina dabatur; super tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset,[8] imago solis crystallo
9 inclusa fulgebat. Ordo autem[9] agminis erat talis. Ig-

[1] subductus *Modius;* subductum *A.*
[2] ad se *Eussner;* esse *A.*
[3] cui vel *Hedicke;* quodue *A.*
[4] occupare fatum esse *Orelli;* occupare habuisset *A.*
[5] ambigue doceri *Hedicke;* ambigue rei *A.*
[6] fere] fert *B corr.*
[7] mutari *Hedicke;* moveri *Freinshem;* movere *A.*
[8] posset *I;* possit *A.*
[9] *Nearly all the words as far as* § *14* Haec vero turba *are lacking in V; a part of a leaf has been torn off.*

[a] That is, the favourable one.

4 sight, horse and all. Besides this, the soothsayers had distracted his troubled mind by varying interpretations; some said that that dream was of good omen for the king because the enemies' camp had burned, and because he had seen Alexander, after laying aside his regal dress, brought to him attired as a Persian, and that too, dressed like one of the
5 common sort; others disagreed: for they conjectured that to have seen the Macedonians' camp illuminated foretold brilliance for Alexander; that he was fated even to seize the rule of Asia was shown beyond doubt, since Darius had worn the same attire when
6 he was named king. Worry had recalled old omens also, as is usual; for they bethought themselves that Darius at the beginning of his rule had ordered that the form of the Persian scabbard of the scimitar should be changed to that shape which the Greeks used, and that the Chaldeans had at once declared that the empire of the Persians would pass to those
7 whose arms he had imitated. However, Darius himself, rejoicing greatly both because of the prediction [a] of the seers which was made public, and the vision which had appeared to him in his sleep, gave orders that the camp should be advanced toward the Euphrates.

8 It was an ancestral custom of the Persians not to begin a march before sunrise. When the day was already bright, the signal was given from the king's tent with the horn [b]; above the tent, from which it might be seen by all, there gleamed an image of the sun enclosed in crystal. Now the order of march was
9 as follows. In front on silver altars was carried the

[b] Veget. iii. 5 *bucina (appellatur) quae in semet ipsum aereo circulo flectitur.*

nis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis
10 altaribus praeferebatur. Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque iuvenes sequebantur puniceis[1] amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero ; quippe Persis quoque in
11 totidem dies discriptus[2] est annus. Currum deinde Iovi sacratum albentes vehebant equi ; hos eximiae magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur. Aureae virgae et albae vestes regentes equos
12 adornabant. Haud procul erant vehicula decem
13 multo auro argentoque caelata. Sequebatur haec equitatus duodecim gentium variis armis et moribus.

Proximi ibant quos Persae Immortales vocant, ad decem milia. Cultus opulentiae barbarae non alios magis honestabat ; illi aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant manicatasque tunicas,
14 gemmis etiam adornatas. Exiguo intervallo, quos cognatos regis appellant, decem et quinque milia hominum. Haec vero turba, muliebriter propemodum culta, luxu magis quam decoris armis conspicua
15 erat. Doryphoroe[3] vocabantur proximum his agmen, soliti vestem excipere regalem. Hi currum regis

[1] puniceis *Francine;* punicis *A.*
[2] discriptus *Eussner;* descriptus *A.*
[3] Doryphoroe *Zumpt;* doriphorae *B.*

[a] *Cf.* iv. 14. 24 ; Amm. xxiii. 6. 34. The fire was in charge of the Magi, and was put out at the king's death.

[b] *Cf.* v. 1. 22 ; on the Magi Amm. xxiii. 6. 32-36.

[c] That is, Ormuzd ; Hdt. vii. 40 (*cf.* i. 131).

[d] A body of 10,000 infantry ; their number was fixed and constantly maintained ; Hdt. vii. 83.

[e] Regarded by the Romans as effeminate ; Cic. *In Cat.* ii. 10. 22 ; Gell. vi. 12.

[f] As their number indicates, the *cognati* were not related to the king by birth, but it was an honorary title bestowed upon those who sat at the king's banquets, namely, the

10 fire [a] which they called sacred and eternal. Next came the Magi, chanting their traditional hymn.[b] These were followed by three hundred and sixty-five young men clad in purple robes, equal in number to the days of a whole year; for the Persians also
11 divided the year into that number of days. After that, white horses drew the chariot consecrated to Jupiter [c]; these were followed by a horse of extraordinary size, which they called the steed of the Sun. Golden wands and white robes adorned the drivers of
12 the horses. Not far off there were ten chariots,
13 embossed with much gold and silver. These were followed by the horsemen of twelve nations of varying arms and customs.

Next marched those whom the Persians call "the Immortals" [d] to the number of ten thousand. No others were more adorned with the splendour of barbaric wealth; theirs were golden necklets, and garments adorned with cloth of gold and long-sleeved
14 tunics [e] adorned even with gems. At a short interval came those whom they call the king's kindred,[f] 15,000 men. This throng indeed, with its almost feminine elegance, was conspicuous rather for luxury than for
15 suitable arms.[g] The troop next to these, who were accustomed to take care of the royal robes, were called Spear-bearers.[h] These preceded the king's

members of his court and others upon whom that distinction was conferred (for an example, see Amm. xviii. 5. 6). In general, see B. Brisson, *De Regio Persarum Principatu*, Index, *s.v.*

[g] It is implied that their arms were highly decorated, but not very serviceable.

[h] The *Doryphoroe* were chosen as the king's body-guard from among the "Immortals"; the duty here ascribed to them does not suit their name and is not elsewhere recorded.

16 anteibant, quo ipse eminens vehebatur. Utrumque currus latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant; distinguebant internitentes gemmae iugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea simulacra cubitalia avorum,[1] alterum Nini, alterum Beli.[2] Inter haec aquilam auream pennas extendenti similem sacraverant.

17 Cultus regis inter omnia luxuria notabatur: purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat, pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se
18 concurrerent, adornabant et zona aurea muliebriter cinctus[3] acinacem suspenderat, cui ex[4] gemma vagina
19 erat. Cidarim Persae vocabant regium capitis insigne; hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta circumibat.
20 Currum decem milia hastatorum sequebantur: hastas argento exornatas, spiculo aureo praefixas[5] gestabant.
21 Dextra laevaque regem ducenti ferme nobilissimi propinquorum comitabantur. Horum agmen claude-

[1] avorum *Jeep;* quorum *A.*
[2] alterum Nini, alterum Beli *Scaliger;* alterinalterutrum belli *A.*
[3] cinctus *Vogel;* cincta *A.*
[4] ex *Scheffer;* et *A.*
[5] spiculo aureo praefixas *Hedicke;* spiculo auro praefixa *P;* spicula auro praefixa *C.*

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[a] The Persian symbol of royal power. Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 1. 4.

[b] *Cf.* Sen. *De Prov.* 3; perhaps "adorned with gems"; the language may have either meaning.

[c] The tiara, worn upright by the Persian kings (Arr. iv. 7. 4, who calls it *κίταρις*); also the head-dress of a satrap, by whom it was ordinarily not worn upright (Arr. vi. 29. 3; Amm. xviii. 5. 6, where he calls it *apex*, and xviii. 8. 5, where he calls it *tiara*). These two passages throw light on its

chariot, in which he rode outstanding among the rest.
16 Both sides of the chariot were adorned with images of the gods, embossed in gold and silver; the yoke was ornamented with sparkling gems, and on it rose two golden images a cubit high of the king's ancestors, one of Ninus, the other of Belus. Between these they had consecrated a golden eagle,[a] represented with outstretched wings.
17 The attire of the king was noteworthy beyond all else in luxury; a purple-edged tunic woven about a white centre, a cloak of cloth of gold, ornamented with golden hawks, which seemed to attack each
18 other with their beaks; from a golden belt, with which he was girt woman-fashion, he had hung a scimitar, the scabbard of which was a single gem.[b]
19 The Persians called the king's head-dress *cidaris*[c]; this was bound with a blue[d] fillet variegated with
20 white. The chariot was followed by 10,000 lancers, carrying spears richly adorned with silver and tipped
21 with a point of gold. About two hundred of the noblest relatives[e] of the king attended him on the right and on the left. The rear of this part of

significance. So in Aristoph. *Aves* 487, the "Persian bird" (the cock) "alone wears his κυρβασία erect."

[a] *Caerulea* is not a contradiction of *purpureum* in vi. 6. 4, but is a variation of that colour.

[e] *Propinquorum*, "relatives," obviously more closely related to the king than the *cognati* of iii. 3. 14 (see note); *cf.* vi. 2. 7 and Amm. xxiii. 6. 81 *abominandae aliae* (*leges*) *per quas ob noxiam unius omnis propinquitas perit*. Brisson. (*l.c.*, note on iii. 3. 14) has no comment on the word except to cite the passage from Amm., and hence seems to take it literally. But the number suggests that it too was sometimes an honorary title. An Associated Press dispatch from Madrid of Oct. 11, 1940 said that "Generalissimo Franco was made a *cousin* of Italy's King Victor Emanuele (*sic*)."

batur triginta milibus peditum, quos equi regis cccc sequebantur.

22 Intervallo deinde unius stadii matrem Darei, Sisigambim, currus vehebat et in alio erat coniunx. Turba feminarum reginas comitantium equis vecta-
23 batur. Quindecim deinde, quas armamaxas appellabant, sequebantur ; in his erant liberi regis et quae[1] educabant eos spadonumque grex, haud sane illis
24 gentibus vilis. Tum[2] regiae pelices trecentae et sexaginta quinque vehebantur, et ipsae[3] regali cultu ornatuque. Post quas pecuniam regis sexcenti muli et trecenti cameli vehebant, praesidio sagittariorum
25 prosequente. Propinquorum amicorumque coniuges huic agmini proximae[4] lixarumque et calonum greges vehebantur. Ultimi erant cum suis quisque ducibus, qui cogerent agmen, leviter armati.

26 Contra si quis aciem Macedonum intueretur, dispar facies[5] erat, equis virisque non auro, non discolori
27 veste, sed ferro atque aere fulgentibus ; agmen et stare paratum et sequi, nec turba nec sarcinis praegrave, intentum ad ducis non signum modo, sed etiam nutum. Et castris locus et exercitui commeatus sup-
28 petebant. Ergo Alexandro in acie miles non defuit ; Dareus, tantae multitudinis rex, loci in quo pugnavit

[1] quae *P;* qui *C.*
[2] Tum *Merula;* tunc *A.*
[3] ipsae *Vindelinus;* ipsi *A.*
[4] proximae *Vindelinus;* proxime *A.*
[5] facies *Scheffer;* acies *A.*

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[a] He also had at least one horse near his chariot, for emergencies ; see iii. 11. 11.

[b] Statira ; she was also his sister, and called the most beautiful woman of Asia.

[c] Including the queen-mother and the princesses.

the procession was brought up by 30,000 foot-soldiers, followed by four hundred of the king's horses.[a]

22 Next, at an interval of a single stade, one chariot carried Sisigambis, Darius' mother, and in another was his wife.[b] A throng of women of the queens' [c]
23 household rode on horses. Then followed fifteen of what they call *harmamaxae*[d]; in these were the king's children and their governesses, and a herd of eunuchs,
24 who are not at all despised by those peoples. Next rode the 365[e] concubines of the king, these also regally dressed and adorned. After these 600 mules and 300 camels carried the king's money, preceded
25 by a guard of bowmen. Next to this division rode the wives of his relatives and friends, and troops of sutlers and batmen. Last of all were bands of light-armed troops, to bring up the rear, each with its own officers.

26 If on the other hand anyone should look upon the Macedonians' army, its appearance was different[f]; men and horses gleaming, not with gold and parti-
27 coloured garments, but with steel and bronze; an army prepared to stand or to follow, not over-weighted with excessive numbers or with baggage, watchful, not only for the signal, but even for the nod of its leader. Thus there was enough room for
28 both a camp and the army's supplies. Hence Alexander did not lack soldiers in the battle; Darius, king of so vast a multitude, was reduced by the

[a] A kind of enclosed litter, probably drawn by mules: Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 16; Hdt. vii. 41.

[e] *Cf.* vi. 6. 8; Diod. xvii. 77. 6, who adds that they were "not less in number than the days of the year."

[f] This seems rather out of place, since it was not Darius' army which was described; and besides, it is more or less a repetition of iii. 2. 13 ff.

angustiis redactus est ad paucitatem quam in hoste contempserat.

IV. Interea Alexander, Sabistamene[1] Cappadociae praeposito, Ciliciam[2] petens cum omnibus copiis in[3] regionem quae Castra Cyri appellatur pervenerat; stativa illic habuerat Cyrus cum adversus Croesum in
2 Lydiam duceret. Aberat ea regio quinquaginta stadia ab aditu quo Ciliciam intramus; Pylas incolae dicunt artissimas fauces, munimenta quae manu poni-
3 mus naturali situ imitantes.[4] Igitur Arsames, qui Ciliciae praeerat, reputans quid initio belli Memno suasisset, quondam salubre consilium sero exsequi statuit: igni ferroque Ciliciam vastat, ut hosti solitudinem faciat, quidquid usui potest esse corrumpit, sterile ac nudum solum quod tueri nequibat relicturus.

4 Sed longe utilius fuit angustias aditus qui Ciliciam aperit valido occupare praesidio iugumque opportune itineri imminens obtinere, unde inultus subeuntem
5 hostem aut prohibere aut opprimere potuisset; nunc paucis, qui callibus praesiderent, relictis, retro ipse concessit, populator terrae quam a populationibus vindicare debebat. Ergo qui relicti erant, proditos se rati, ne conspectum quidem hostis sustinere valuerunt, cum vel pauciores locum obtinere potuissent.

[1] Sabistamene *Hedicke;* abhistamene *A.*
[2] Ciliciam *Giunta;* eciam *A.*
[3] in *added by Aldus.*
[4] imitantes *Eussner;* imitante *A.*

[a] Arrian (ii. 4. 3) believed that it was the younger Cyrus; *cf.* Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 20-21. Possibly the elder Cyrus may also have camped there; see Justin i. 7. 4.
[b] But see Diod. xiv. 20. 1 ff.
[c] See Arr. i. 12. 9; Diod. xvii. 18. 2.
[d] *Calles* is a favourite word with Curtius, strangely mis-

narrow limits of the place in which he fought to the small number which he had scorned in his enemy.

IV. Meanwhile Alexander, having given Sabistamenes charge of Cappadocia, on his way to Cilicia with all his forces had arrived at the place which is called the Camp of Cyrus; there Cyrus had had a permanent camp when he was leading his army into
2 Lydia against Croesus.[a] That place was distant fifty stadia from the pass by which we enter Cilicia; "the Gates" is what the natives call that very narrow entrance, and in its natural formation it resembles
3 fortifications made by our human hands.[b] Therefore Arsames, who governed Cilicia, recalling what Memnon[c] had advised at the beginning of the war, decided too late to follow a plan which at the time was salutary; he devastates Cilicia with fire and sword, in order to make a desert for the enemy, and destroys everything that could be of use, intending to leave barren and bare the soil which he was unable to defend.

4 But it would have been far more advantageous to beset with a strong force the narrow pass which opens the way into Cilicia, and to hold possession of a height which opportunely overhangs the road, from which without danger he would have been able to stop or
5 destroy the enemy as they came up. As it was, leaving a few to guard the mountain paths,[d] he himself retreated, a devastator of the land which he ought to have protected against devastation. Therefore those who had been left behind, supposing that they had been betrayed, were not able to endure even the sight of the enemy, although even fewer men

placed in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iii. 174. 16; see *A.J.P.* xxvi. (1915), p. 363.

6 Namque perpetuo iugo montis asperi ac praerupti Cilicia includitur ; quod cum a mari assurgat, velut sinu quodam flexuque curvatum, rursus altero cornu in diversum litus excurrit.

7 Per hoc dorsum, qua maxime introrsus mari cedit, asperi tres aditus et perangusti sunt, quorum uno 8 Cilicia intranda est. Campestris eadem, qua vergit ad mare, planitiem eius crebris distinguentibus rivis : Pyramus et Cydnus, incliti amnes, interfluunt.[1] Cydnus non spatio aquarum, sed liquore memorabilis ; quippe leni tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur nec torrentes incurrunt, qui placide manantis 9 alveum turbent. Itaque incorruptus idemque frigidissimus, quippe multa riparum amoenitate inumbratus, ubique fontibus suis similis in mare evadit. 10 Multa in ea regione monumenta vulgata carminibus vetustas exederat : monstrabantur urbium sedes Lyrnesi et Thebes, Typhonis[2] quoque specus et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur, ceteraque in quibus nihil praeter famam duraverat.

11 Alexander fauces iugi, quae[3] Pylae appellantur, intravit. Contemplatus locorum situm non alias magis dicitur admiratus esse felicitatem suam ; obrui

[1] interfluunt *Hedicke;* fluunt *A.*
[2] Typhonis *Modius;* Thipontis *A.*
[3] quae *Merula;* quod *A.*

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[a] Solinus (xxxviii. 5) calls it *tenuis* until it is swollen by the winter snows, which also add to its coldness ; Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2. 23) gives its width as two plethra, or about 200 feet.

[b] Strabo (xiv. 5. 12 (673)) calls it *ψυχρός*, but Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, p. 121, quoted by Mützell, found it no colder than other streams in that region.

[c] Really in Pamphylia near Lycia, Strabo xiv. 5. 21,

than they would have been able to hold the position.
6 For Cilicia is shut in by a continuous range of rugged and steep mountains. This range, rising from the sea and curving in a kind of winding fold, so to speak, runs back with its other extremity to a different part of the shore.
7 Through this range, where it withdraws farthest inward from the sea, there are three rough and very narrow passes, one of which must be used for entering
8 Cilicia. That country where it slopes toward the sea is level and its plain is divided by frequent streams; the famous rivers Pyramus and Cydnus flow through it. The Cydnus is noteworthy, not because of the extent of its waters,[a] but for their clearness; for gliding with gentle course from its springs, it is received by a pure soil, and no torrents empty into it to discolour its quietly flowing channel.
9 Hence it is undefiled and also extremely cold,[b] since it is shaded charmingly by its banks, and it passes into the sea in the same state throughout as at its
10 source. In that region lapse of time had destroyed many memorials made famous in song; the sites of the cities Lyrnesus[c] and Thebes were pointed out, the cave of Typhon too,[d] and the Corycian grove, where saffron grows,[e] and other places of which only the fame has endured.
11 Alexander entered that pass in the range which is called "the Gates." Having examined the situation of the region, he is said never to have wondered more at his good fortune; he admitted that he might

ch. 677. Curtius also confuses it with Lyrnesus in the Troad.

[a] *Cf.* Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 30 ff.; Mela i. 13. 24.

[b] *Cf.* Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4. 68; Pliny, *N.H.* xxi. 6. 17 (31).

potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent qui in[1]
12 subeuntes propellerent. Iter vix quaternos capiebat armatos; dorsum montis imminebat viae non angustae modo, sed plerumque praeruptae crebris oberrantibus rivis qui ex radicibus montium manant.
13 Thracas tamen leviter armatos praecedere iusserat scrutarique calles, ne occultus hostis in subeuntes erumperet. Sagittariorum quoque manus occupaverat iugum; intentos arcus habebant moniti non
14 iter ipsos inire, sed proelium. Hoc modo agmen pervenit ad urbem Tarson, cui tum maxime Persae subiciebant ignem, ne opulentum oppidum hostis
15 invaderet. At ille, Parmenione ad inhibendum incendium cum expedita manu praemisso, postquam barbaros adventu suorum fugatos esse cognovit, urbem a se conservatam intrat.

V. Mediam Cydnus amnis, de quo paulo ante dictum est, interfluit, et tunc aestas erat, cuius calor non aliam magis quam Ciliciae oram vapore solis accendit,
2 et diei fervidissimum tempus esse coeperat.[2] Pulvere simul ac sudore perfusum regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut calidum adhuc corpus ablueret. Itaque veste deposita in conspectu agminis—decorum quoque futurum ratus, si ostendisset suis levi et parabili cultu corporis se esse contentum—descendit in flu-

[1] in *added by Giunta; A omits.*
[2] esse coeperat *Orelli;* exceperat *A.*

[a] See iii. 4. 5, note *d.*
[b] iii. 1. 21, note *b.*
[c] Since the battle of Issus took place in November, 333 (Arr. ii. 11. 10), *aestas* is used of a southern autumn with its varying temperature.
[d] *Solis . . . accendit*: *cf.* iv. 7. 6; vii. 5. 3. The language is poetic; *cf.* Lucr. v. 595 *sol calido perfundit cuncta vapore.*

have been overwhelmed even by rocks, if there had been any to roll them down on his men as they came
12 up. The road barely allowed four armed men to walk abreast; a ridge of the mountain overhung a passage that was not merely narrow, but often broken by frequent streams which crossed it, trickling from
13 the roots of the mountains. Nevertheless he had ordered his light-armed Thracians to go in advance and examine the mountain paths,[a] in order that a hidden foe might not burst forth upon them as they went up the pass. A band of bowmen also had taken their place on the ridge; they kept their bows bent, since they had been warned that they were not enter-
14 ing upon a march, but a battle. In this manner the army came to the city of Tarsus, to which at that very time the Persians were setting fire, in order that
15 the enemy might not invade a rich city. But Alexander had sent Parmenion[b] on with a light-armed troop to check the fire, and as soon as he knew that the barbarians had been put to flight by the arrival of his men, he entered the city which he had saved.

V. The river Cydnus, which was mentioned a short time ago, flows through the middle of Tarsus; it was then summer,[c] the heat of which burns no other shore more than that of Cilicia with the sun's fires,[d] and
2 the hottest time of the day had begun. The clear water of the river tempted the king, who was covered with dust and at the same time with sweat, to bathe his body when it was still heated; accordingly, laying off his clothing in the sight of the army—thinking that it would also be fitting if he should show his men that he was content with attention to his person which was simple and easily attained—he went down

men. Vixque ingressi subito horrore artus rigere coeperunt, pallor deinde suffusus est et totum propemodum corpus vitalis calor liquit. Expiranti similem ministri manu excipiunt nec satis compotem mentis in tabernaculum deferunt.

Ingens sollicitudo et paene iam luctus in castris erat; flentes querebantur, in tanto impetu cursuque rerum omnis aetatis ac memoriae clarissimum regem non in acie saltem, non ab hoste deiectum, sed abluentem aqua corpus ereptum esse et exstinctum. Instare Dareum, victorem antequam vidisset hostem. Sibi easdem terras quas victoria peragrassent repetendas; omnia aut ipsos aut hostes populatos. Per vastas solitudines, etiamsi nemo insequi velit, euntes fame atque inopia debellari posse. Quem signum daturum fugientibus? quem ausurum Alexandro succedere? Iam ut ad Hellespontum fuga penetrarent, classem qua transeant quem praeparaturum? Rursus in ipsum regem misericordia versa, illum florem iuventae, illam vim animi, eundem regem et commilitonem divelli a se et abrumpi immemores sui querebantur.

Inter haec liberius meare spiritus coeperat allevaratque[1] rex oculos, et paulatim redeunte animo, circumstantes amicos agnoverat; laxataque vis morbi ob hoc[2] solum videbatur, quia magnitudinem mali sentiebat. Animi autem aegritudo corpus ur-

[1] allevaratque *Meiser;* adleuabatque *A.*
[2] ob hoc *Iunius;* ad hoc *A.*

[a] Arrian (ii. 4. 7-11) makes much less of this incident than Curtius, who indulges his love for the dramatic and for rhetoric. Probably Alexander, who had descended 3000 feet in three days, already had the Cilician fever, and the bath aggravated his ailment, rather than caused it. Aristobulus (Arr. *l.c.*) says that he fell ill from fatigue.

into the river. But hardly had he entered it when his limbs began to stiffen with a sudden chill, then he lost his colour, and the vital warmth left almost his entire body.[a] His attendants caught him in their arms, looking like a dying man, and carried him almost unconscious into his tent.

There was great anxiety, and already almost mourning in the camp; with tears they lamented that the most glorious king of any age or time, in the midst of so swift a career of success, had been laid low, not in battle (which would have been bad enough), not by the enemy, but had been taken off and done to death while bathing. Darius (they said) was close at hand, a victor before he had seen his enemy. As for them, they must go back to the same lands through which they had passed victorious, where everything had been laid waste by themselves or by the enemy. Marching through desert wastes, even if no one wished to pursue them, they could be vanquished by hunger and want. Who would direct them in their flight? Who would venture to succeed Alexander? Just suppose that they should reach the Hellespont in their flight, who would prepare a fleet in which to cross it? Then their pity turned again to the king himself and, forgetting themselves, they lamented that such flower of youth, so powerful a mind, at once their king and their fellow-soldier, was torn and wrested away from them.

Meanwhile the king's breath had begun to pass more freely, and he had raised his eyes; and as his senses began to return to him, he recognized his friends who stood about him, and the violence of his illness seemed to have abated for the sole reason that he felt the greatness of the disaster. However,

guebat, quippe Dareum quinto die in Cilicia fore nuntiabatur. Vinctum ergo se tradi et tantam victoriam eripi sibi ex manibus obscuraque et ignobili
11 morte in tabernaculo extingui se querebatur. Admissisque amicis pariter ac medicis : " In quo me," inquit, " articulo rerum mearum Fortuna deprehenderit, cernitis. Strepitum hostilium armorum exaudire mihi videor, et qui ultro intuli bellum iam
12 provocor. Dareus ergo cum tam superbas litteras scriberet, fortunam meam in consilio habuit, sed
13 nequiquam, si mihi arbitrio meo curari licet. Lenta remedia et segnes medicos non expectant tempora mea ; vel mori strenue quam tarde convalescere mihi melius est. Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis est, sciant me non tam mortis quam belli remedium quaerere."

14 Ingentem omnibus incusserat curam tam praeceps temeritas eius. Ergo pro se quisque precari coepere, ne festinatione periculum augeret, sed esset in potes-
15 tate medentium ; inexperta remedia haud iniuria ipsis esse suspecta, cum ad perniciem eius etiam a
16 latere ipsius pecunia sollicitaret hostis. Quippe Dareus mille talenta interfectori Alexandri daturum se pronuntiari iusserat. Itaque ne ausurum quidem quemquam arbitrabantur experiri remedium quod propter novitatem posset esse suspectum.

VI. Erat inter nobiles medicos ex Macedonia

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[a] Arrian (ii. 4. 8) says that he was also a brave man in the field.

trouble of mind oppressed his body; for it was announced that Darius would be in Cilicia in four days. Therefore he lamented that he was being handed over to him in bonds, that so great a victory was being snatched from his hands, and that he was being blotted out in his tent by an obscure and in-
11 glorious death. And so, having admitted his friends, as well as his physicians, he said: "You see in what a crisis of my affairs Fortune has surprised me. Me-
12 thinks I hear the din of hostile arms, and I who was the aggressor in war, am now challenged. Thus Darius, when he was writing those haughty letters, was privy to my fortune, but to no purpose, if I am
13 allowed to be treated according to my desire. My exigency cannot wait for slow remedies and dilatory physicians; in my opinion it is better even to die speedily than to recover tardily. Therefore, if there is any help, if there is any skill, in physicians, let them know that I do not so much desire a remedy against death as one that will enable me to make war."

14 This headlong rashness of the king had smitten all with great anxiety. Hence each man individually began to entreat him not to increase his danger by haste but to submit to the control of his physicians;
15 that they had good reason to suspect untried remedies, since his enemy might bribe someone to destroy him
16 even from among his own intimates. And in fact Darius had ordered it to be proclaimed that he would give a thousand talents to the slayer of Alexander. Hence they thought that no one would venture even to try a remedy which on account of its novelty could be suspected.

VI. Among the famous [a] physicians who had fol-

regem secutos[1] Philippus, natione Acarnan,[2] fidus admodum regi; puero comes et custos salutis datus non ut regem modo, sed etiam ut alumnum eximia
2 caritate diligebat. Is non praeceps se, sed strenuum remedium afferre tantamque vim morbi potione
3 medicata levaturum esse promisit. Nulli promissum eius placebat praeter ipsum cuius periculo pollicebatur. Omnia quippe facilius quam moram perpeti poterat; arma et acies in oculis erant et victoriam in eo positam esse arbitrabatur, si tantum ante signa stare potuisset, id ipsum, quod post diem tertium medicamentum sumpturus esset—ita enim medicus praedixerat—aegre ferens.
4 Inter haec a Parmenione, fidissimo purpuratorum, litteras accipit, quibus ei denuntiabat ne salutem suam Philippo committeret; mille talentis a Dareo
5 et spe nuptiarum sororis eius esse corruptum. Ingentem animo sollicitudinem litterae incusserant et quidquid in utramque partem aut metus aut spes
6 subiecerat secreta aestimatione pensabat. "Bibere perseverem, ut, si venenum datum fuerit, ne immerito quidem quidquid acciderit evenisse videatur? Damnem medici fidem? in tabernaculo ergo me opprimi patiar? At satius est alieno me mori scelere quam
7 metu nostro." Diu animo in diversa versato, nulli quid scriptum esset enuntiat epistolamque,

[1] secutos *Meiser;* secutus *A.*
[2] Acarnan *Giunta;* arcanan *A.*

[a] It was a strong purge (Arr. ii. 4. 8).
[b] *In oculis*, most frequently of actual sight, as in ix. 4. 11, less so of the mind or fancy: *cf.* iv. 13. 1; viii. 6. 21.
[c] He was in Cappadocia (Justin xi. 8. 5). Justin's *ignarus infirmitatis Alexandri* is contradicted by vi. 10. 34.
[d] Plut. *Alex.* xix. 3 says his daughter; Justin and Arrian mention only the bribe of money.

lowed the king from Macedonia was Philip, a native of Acarnania, most loyal to Alexander; made the king's comrade and the guardian of his health from boyhood, he loved him with extreme affection, not
2 only as his king, but even as a foster-child. He promised to apply a remedy that was not sudden but effective, and to allay the violence of his illness, great
3 as it was, with a medicated draught.[a] His promise pleased no one except the very one at whose peril it was made. For the king could endure anything except delay; arms and armies were before his eyes,[b] and he thought that victory depended merely upon his ability to take his place before the standards, impatient only because he was not to take the draught until the third day should have come—for so the physician had directed.
4 In the meantime he received a letter from Parmenion,[c] the most faithful of his generals, in which he strongly warned the king not to trust his life to Philip; that he had been bribed by Darius with a thousand talents and the hope of marriage with the
5 king's sister.[d] This letter had filled Alexander's mind with great anxiety, and whatever fear or hope cast into either scale he weighed in secret calculation.
6 "Should I resolve[e] to take the draught, with the result that if poison shall have been given me, it may seem that I deserved whatever shall have happened? Shall I distrust the loyalty of my physician? Shall I then allow myself to be overwhelmed in my tent? But it is better for me to die of another's crime
7 than of my own fear." After having turned his thoughts in various directions for a long time, he

[e] For this meaning see viii. 8. 22; in a different sense, viii. 6. 19.

sigillo anuli sui impresso, pulvino cui incubabat subicit.[1]

8 Inter has cogitationes biduo absumpto, illuxit a medico destinatus dies, et ille cum poculo in quo
9 medicamentum diluerat intravit. Quo viso Alexander, levato corpore in cubili,[2] epistolam a Parmenione missam sinistra manu tenens accipit poculum et haurit interritus ; tum epistolam legere Philippum iubet nec a vultu legentis movit oculos, ratus aliquas conscientiae notas in ipso ore posse deprehendere.
10 Ille, epistola perlecta, plus indignationis quam pavoris ostendit, proiectisque amiculo et litteris ante lectum : " Rex," inquit, " semper quidem spiritus meus ex te pependit, sed nunc vere arbitror sacro et venerabili
11 ore trahi tuo.[3] Crimen parricidii, quod mihi obiectum est, tua salus diluet ; servatus a me vitam mihi dederis. Oro quaesoque, omisso[4] metu patere medicamentum concipi venis ; laxa paulisper animum, quem intempestiva sollicitudine amici sane fideles, sed moleste seduli turbant."

Non securum modo haec vox, sed etiam laetum
12 regem ac plenum bonae spei fecit. Itaque : " Si di," inquit, " Philippe, tibi permisissent quo maxime modo velles animum experiri meum, alio profecto[5] voluisses, sed certiore, quam expertus es, ne optasses quidem. Hac epistola accepta, tamen quod dilueras

[1] subicit *Hedicke;* subiecit *A.*
[2] cubili *I;* cubile *A.*
[3] trahi tuo *Meiser;* trahitur *A.*
[4] omisso *P;* amisso *C.*
[5] profecto *I;* profectum *A.*

[a] *Diluerat* is the technical term.
[b] *Cf.* ix. 5. 30; Sen. *De Clem.* i. 4 *confessus omnes unius spiritu vivere.*

revealed to no one what had been written, but impressed the seal of his ring upon the letter and put it under the pillow on which he was lying.

8 After he had spent two days in such thoughts as these, the day designated by the physician dawned, and Philip entered with the cup in which he had
9 mixed [a] the drug. On seeing him Alexander raised himself in bed and, holding the letter sent by Parmenion in his left hand, took the cup and drank fearlessly; then he bade Philip read the letter, and he did not turn his eyes from the physician's face as he read, thinking that he would be able to detect any
10 signs of guilt in his very expression. But Philip, when he had read the letter through, showed more indignation than fear, and throwing his cloak and the letter before the couch: "My king," said he, "the breath of my life has always depended upon you, but now, I verily believe that it is drawn by your
11 sacred and revered lips.[b] The accusation of murder with which I have been charged your recovery will refute; when saved by me you will have given me life. I beg and beseech you, cease your fear; allow the remedy to be taken into your veins; free for a time your mind, which your friends, faithful indeed but, alas, officious, are disturbing by their ill-timed solicitude."

These words made the king, not only free from care,
12 but even joyful and full of good hope. Accordingly he said: "If the gods, Philip, had granted you to test my feelings in the manner which you most desired, you would surely have chosen a different way, but you could not even have wished for a surer one than you experienced, since after receiving this letter I nevertheless drank the mixture you had prepared.

bibi ; et nunc crede me non minus pro tua fide quam pro mea salute esse sollicitum." Haec elocutus dex-
13 tram Philippo offert. Ceterum tanta vis medicamenti fuit, ut, quae secuta sunt, criminationem Parmenionis adiuverint ; interclusus spiritus arte
14 meabat. Nec Philippus quicquam inexpertum omisit ; ille fomenta corpori admovit, ille torpentem
15 nunc cibi,[1] nunc vini odore excitavit. Atque ut primum mentis compotem esse sensit, modo matris sororumque, modo tantae victoriae appropinquantis
16 admonere non destitit. Ut vero medicamentum se diffudit in venas et sensim toto corpore salubritas percipi potuit, primum animus vigorem suum, deinde corpus quoque expectatione maturius recuperavit ; quippe post tertium diem quam in hoc statu fuerat in conspectum militum venit.

17 Nec avidius ipsum regem quam Philippum intuebatur exercitus ; pro se quisque dextram eius amplexi grates habebant velut praesenti deo. Namque haud facile dictu est, praeter ingenitam illi genti erga reges suos venerationem, quantum huius utique regis vel admiratione dediti ei[2] fuerint vel caritate fla-
18 graverint. Iam primum nihil sine divina ope aggredi videbatur ; nam cum praesto esset ubique fortuna,
19 et temeritas[3] in gloriam cesserat. Aetas quoque vix tantis matura rebus, sed abunde sufficiens, omnia eius opera honestabat. Et quae leviora haberi solent

[1] cibi *A;* cibo *Hedicke.* [2] dediti ei] deditei *V.*
[3] fortuna, et temeritas *Novák ;* fortunae temeritas *A.*

[a] *Cf.* vi. 7. 5 ; Ter. *Phormio* 345 ; Hor. *Odes* i. 35. 2.

And now, believe me, I am not less anxious to prove your loyalty than I am for my recovery." Having said
13 this, he offered Philip his right hand. But so great was the strength of the drug that what followed seemed to support the calumny of Parmenion. The king's breath was impeded and passed with diffi-
14 culty. But Philip left nothing untried; it was he that applied hot lotions to the king's body, he that roused him from languor by the odour now of food,
15 now of wine. As soon as he perceived that Alexander was conscious, he did not cease to remind him, at one time of his mother and sisters, again of his
16 approaching great victory. But as the drug spread into the king's veins and gradually its healing power could be felt in his whole body, at first his mind regained its vigour and then his body also, more speedily than could have been expected; for after the third day which he had spent in that condition, he appeared in sight of the soldiers.
17 Nor did the army look with more eagerness upon the king himself than upon Philip; each man individually grasped the physician's right hand and returned thanks, as if to an all-powerful god.[a] For it is not easily expressed how great, apart from the native reverence of the Macedonians for their kings, was their admiring devotion to this particular king,
18 or, I may say, their burning affection for him. For first of all, he seemed to undertake nothing without divine help; for since good fortune everywhere attended him, his very rashness had resulted in glory.
19 His years too, which seemed hardly ripe for such great deeds, but had proved amply sufficient, enhanced all his exploits. Also things which are commonly regarded as trifling, are usually more pleasing

plerumque militari gratiora vulgo sunt, exercitatio corporis inter ipsos, cultus habitusque paulum a
20 privato abhorrens, militaris vigor; quis ille vel ingenii dotibus vel animi artibus, ut pariter carus ac venerandus[1] esset, effecerat.

VII. At Dareus, nuntio de adversa valitudine eius accepto, celeritate quantam capere tam grave agmen poterat ad Euphraten contendit, iunctoque eo pontibus, quinque tamen diebus traiecit exercitum, Cili-
2 ciam occupare festinans. Iam Alexander viribus corporis receptis ad urbem Solos pervenerat; cuius potitus, ducentis talentis multae nomine exactis, arci
3 praesidium militum imposuit. Vota deinde pro salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens, ostendit quanta fiducia barbaros sperneret; quippe Aesculapio
4 et Minervae ludos celebravit. Spectanti nuntius laetus affertur Halicarnaso[2] Persas acie a suis esse superatos, Myndios quoque et Caunios et pleraque tractus eius suae facta dicionis.

5 Igitur edito spectaculo ludicro castrisque motis et Pyramo amne ponte iuncto, ad urbem Mallum pervenit, inde alteris castris ad oppidum Castabalum.[3]
6 Ibi Parmenio regi occurrit; praemissus erat ad explorandum iter saltus per quem ad urbem Isson

[1] venerandus *Lauer;* verecundus *A.*
[2] Halicarnaso *Hedicke;* alicarnaso *A.*
[3] Castabalum *J. Froben;* castabulum *A.*

[a] In spite of the time spent in bridging the river.
[b] See Gell. v. 20. 4, note 2, L.C.L. *Gellius.*
[c] *Cf.* Arr. ii. 5. 5, who says that he fined them 200 silver talents because they still inclined towards Persia. After the battle of Issus he remitted fifty talents that were still due (Arr. ii. 12. 2).
[d] A torch-race and athletic and literary competitions (Arr. ii. 5. 8).

to a crowd of soldiers: bodily exercise in their company, dress and bearing differing but little from those of a man in private station, a soldier's vigour;
20 by these, whether they were natural gifts or consciously acquired, he had made himself alike beloved and worthy of deep respect,

VII. But Darius, after having received news of Alexander's illness, with all the speed of which so heavy an army was capable hastened to the Euphrates, spanned it with a pontoon bridge, but still [a] got his army across within five days, in his haste to
2 obtain possession of Cilicia. Already Alexander had recovered his physical vigour and had arrived at the city of Soli [b]; having taken possession of this, he exacted, by way of a fine,[c] two hundred talents
3 and placed a garrison of soldiers in the citadel. Then with sport and holiday he paid the vows that had been pledged for his safety, thus showing with what great confidence he scorned the barbarians; for he celebrated games [d] in honour of Aesculapius and
4 Minerva. As he was viewing the games, the joyful news arrived from Halicarnassus that the Persians had been defeated in battle by his troops, and also that the Myndii, the Caunii, and the greater part of that region had been brought under his sway.[e]
5 Accordingly, having finished the public games, moved his camp, and bridged the Pyramus River, he arrived at the city of Mallus, and from there, on the second day, he came to the town of Castabalum.
6 There Parmenion met the king; he had been sent ahead to reconnoitre the road through the mountain-pass through which they must go to reach the city

[e] Fuller details are given by Arrian (ii. 5. 7).

7 *nomine penetrandum erat.* Atque ille, angustiis eius occupatis et praesidio modico relicto, Isson quoque desertam a barbaris ceperat. Inde progressus, deturbatis qui interiora montium obsidebant, praesidiis cuncta firmavit occupatoque itinere, sicut paulo ante dictum est, idem et auctor et nuntius venit.

8 Isson deinde rex copias admovit. Ubi consilio habito utrumne ultra progrediendum foret, an ibi opperiendi essent novi milites quos ex Macedonia adventare constabat, Parmenion non alium locum 9 proelio aptiorem esse censebat. Quippe illic utriusque regis copias numero futuras pares, cum angustiae multitudinem non caperent; planitiem ipsis camposque esse vitandos, ubi circumiri, ubi ancipiti acie opprimi possent.[1] Timere ne non virtute hostium, sed lassitudine sua vincerentur; Persas recentes 10 subinde successuros, si laxius stare potuissent. Facile ratio tam salubris consilii accepta est. Itaque inter angustias saltus hostem opperiri statuit.

11 Erat in exercitu regis Sisines[2] Perses; quondam a praetore Aegypti missus ad Philippum donisque et omni honore cultus, exilium patria sede mutaverat, secutus deinde in Asiam Alexandrum, inter fideles

[1] possent *I;* possint *A.*
[2] Sisines *Lauer;* sisenes *A* (*so elsewhere*).

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[a] Alexander went back to meet Darius, who had slipped in behind him; the situation is made clearer by Arr. ii. 6. 2 ff. and ii. 7. 1, also by Mützell's long note on iii. 7. 5.

[b] Arrian says nothing of Sisines here, or of his connexion with Philip. He connects a Sisines with the plot of Alexander Lyncestes, i. 25. 3, but regards him as a different person bearing the same name.

[c] For *praetor* in the sense of *praefectus* see Cic. *De Fin.* v.

7 called Issus. And Parmenion, after taking possession of the narrowest part of this road, and leaving there a guard of moderate size, had captured Issus, which also had been abandoned by the barbarians. From this as a base he dislodged those who held posts in the mountains farther inland, secured everything by garrisons, and having got possession of the road, as was said a little while ago, came as newsbringer of his own accomplishments.

8 Then Alexander moved his forces to Issus. There, after deliberating whether they ought to advance farther or wait where they were for the fresh troops that were known to be coming from Macedonia, Parmenion expressed the opinion that no other place
9 was more suitable for a battle. For there the forces of both kings would be equal in number, since the narrow space could not contain a multitude of men ; his men ought to avoid a plain and the open fields, where they might be caught and crushed in a pincer manœuvre. He feared that they might be defeated, not by the enemies' valour, but by their own weariness ; fresh Persians would constantly be coming to the front, if they were allowed to take more
10 open order. The force of such salutary advice was readily acknowledged. Therefore Alexander decided to await the enemy amid the defiles of the mountains.[a]

11 There was in the king's army a Persian called Sisines[b]; he had been sent formerly to King Philip by the satrap[c] of Egypt, and having been courted with gifts and honours of every kind, he had exchanged his native abode for exile ; later he followed Alexander into Asia and was regarded as one of his loyal

30. 92. Curtius uses the word of a general, a governor, a satrap, etc.

12 socios habebatur. Huic epistolam Cretensis miles obsignatam anulo cuius signum haud sane notum erat tradidit. Nabarzanes, praetor Darei, miserat eam hortabaturque Sisinem, ut dignum aliquid nobilitate atque moribus[1] suis ederet; magno id ei
13 apud regem honori fore. Has litteras Sisines, utpote innoxius, ad Alexandrum saepe deferre temptavit, sed cum tot curis apparatuque belli regem videret urgueri, aptius subinde tempus expectans suspici-
14 onem iniți scelesti consilii praebuit. Namque epistola, priusquam ei redderetur, in manus Alexandri pervenerat, lectamque eam et ignoti anuli sigillo im-
15 presso Sisini dari iusserat ad aestimandam fidem barbari. Qui quia per complures dies non adierat regem, scelesto consilio eam visus est suppressisse et in agmine a Cretensibus haud dubie iussu regis occisus.

VIII. Iamque Graeci milites, quos Thymondas[2] a Pharnabazo[3] acceperat, praecipua spes et propemo-
2 dum unica, ad Dareum pervenerant. Hi[4] magnopere suadebant, ut retro abiret spatiososque Mesopotamiae campos repeteret; si id consilium damnaret, at ille divideret saltem copias innumerabiles neu sub unum Fortunae ictum totas vires regni cadere pateretur.
3 Minus hoc regi quam purpuratis eius displicebat; ancipitem fidem et mercede venalem proditioni[5] imminere et dividi non ob aliud copias velle, quam ut

[1] moribus *A;* maioribus *Acidalius.*
[2] Thymondas *Hedicke;* Thimodes *A.*
[3] Pharnabazo *Aldus;* barnabazo *A.*
[4] Hi *Lauer;* hii *A.* [5] proditioni *Bentley;* proditionem *A.*

[a] See iii. 3. 1.
[b] According to Plut. *Alex.* xx. 1-4, and Arrian ii. 6. 3, it was Amyntas, son of Antiochus, who gave this advice.

12 companions. To him a Cretan soldier delivered a letter sealed with a ring the device of which was not at all known to him. Nabarzanes, a general of Darius, had sent it, urging Sisines to accomplish something worthy of his rank and character; that it
13 would bring him great honour with Darius. This letter Sisines, since he was innocent of any evil intention, often tried to turn over to Alexander, but since he saw that the king was burdened with so many cares and with preparation for war, he waited from time to time for a more favourable opportunity, and thus incurred the suspicion of having harboured some
14 criminal design. For the letter, before it was delivered to him, had come into Alexander's hands, who, after reading and sealing it with a ring unknown to Sisines, had ordered that it be given to him, for
15 the purpose of testing the barbarian's loyalty. But since he had not approached Alexander for several days, it seemed that he had suppressed the letter with criminal intent, and he was killed on the march by the Cretans, undoubtedly by Alexander's order.

VIII. And now the Greek soldiers whom Thymondas had received from Pharnabazus [a] had come
2 to Darius, his principal and almost sole hope. They strongly advised [b] him to go back and return to the spacious plains of Mesopotamia; or, if he disapproved of that plan, that he should at least divide his countless forces and not allow the entire strength of his
3 kingdom to fall under one stroke of Fortune. This advice was less displeasing to the king than to his courtiers; they declared that men of doubtful loyalty, to be bought for pay,[c] were intent upon treachery, and wished his forces to be divided for no

[c] Being mercenaries they were more open to bribery.

ipsi in diversa digressi, si quid commissum esset, traderent Alexandro ; nihil tutius fore, quam circumdatos eos exercitu toto obrui telis, documentum non inultae perfidiae futuros.

4 At Dareus, ut erat sanctus ac mitis, se vero tantum facinus negat esse facturum, ut suam secutos fidem, 5 suos milites iubeat trucidari. Quem deinde amplius nationum exterarum salutem suam creditum sibi, 6 si tot militum sanguine imbuisset manus ? Neminem stolidum consilium capite luere debere ; defuturos enim qui suaderent, si suasisse periculosum esset. Denique ipsos cotidie ad se advocari in consilium variasque sententias dicere, nec tamen melioris fidei 7 haberi, qui prudentius suaserit. Itaque Graecis nuntiare[1] iubet, ipsum quidem benevolentiae illorum gratias agere, ceterum, si retro ire pergat, haud dubie regnum hostibus traditurum. Fama bella stare et 8 eum, qui recedat, fugere credi. Trahendi vero belli vix ullam esse rationem ; tantae enim multitudini, utique cum iam hiems[2] instaret, in regione vasta et invicem a suis atque hoste vexata non suffectura 9 alimenta. Ne[3] dividi quidem copias posse servato more maiorum, qui universas vires discrimini bello- 10 rum semper obtulerint. Et, hercule, terribilem antea regem et absentia sua ad vanam fiduciam

[1] nuntiare *A* (*cf. vii. 8. 8*); nuntiari *I*.
[2] hiems *I*; hiemps *C*; hiaepms *P*.
[3] ne *A*; nec *Post*.

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[a] *Cf.* iii. 2. 17 ; Arr. iii. 22. 2.
[b] For a similar thought *cf.* Thuc. iii. 42.
[c] *Cf.* iv. 4. 2 ; viii. 8. 15 ; Livy xxvii. 45. 5.
[d] *Trahendi belli* : a Livian expression (Livy v. 11. 8, with Drakenborch's note) ; *cf.* Sall. *Jug.* lxxxiii. 3.

other purpose than that the Greeks might go off in different directions, and betray to Alexander whatever should be entrusted to them; that nothing would be more prudent than to surround them with his whole army and overwhelm them with weapons, as a lesson that treachery does not go unpunished.

4 But Darius, being upright and mild,[a] declared that he certainly would not commit such a crime as to order men who had trusted his word, his own soldiers, to be
5 butchered; what man of the foreign nations would ever thereafter trust his safety to him, if he should have stained his hands with the blood of so many
6 soldiers? No one ought to atone for stupid advice with his life[b]; for there would be none who would give counsel, if to have advised were perilous. Finally they themselves were daily called to him for consultation, and expressed varying opinions, yet one who advised more wisely than another was not re-
7 garded as of greater loyalty. Accordingly, he ordered reply to be made to the Greeks, that he personally thanked them for their goodwill, but that if he should proceed to withdraw, he would undoubtedly be handing over his kingdom to the enemy; that the result of wars depends on reputation[c] and one who retreats is
8 believed to be in flight. In fact, there was hardly any reason for prolonging[d] the war; for, especially since winter was already at hand, there would not be sufficient supplies for so great a multitude as his, in a devastated region which had been laid waste in
9 turn by his own forces and by the enemy. Besides, his forces could not be divided if the custom of his forefathers was observed, who always opposed their
10 entire strength to a crisis in war. And, by Heaven! Alexander, a king terrible before and now raised

elatum, postquam adventare se senserit, cautum pro temerario factum, delituisse inter angustias saltus ritu ignobilium ferarum, quae strepitu praetereun-
11 tium audito silvarum latebris se occulerent.[1] Iam etiam valitudinis simulatione frustrari suos milites. Sed non amplius ipsum esse passurum detrectare[2] certamen ; in illo specu, in quem pavidi recessissent, oppressurum esse cunctantes.

12 Haec magnificentius iactata quam verius. Ceterum pecunia omni rerumque pretiosissimis Damascum Syriae cum modico praesidio militum missis, reliquas copias in Ciliciam duxit, insequentibus more patrio agmen coniuge ac matre. Virgines quoque cum parvo filio comitabantur patrem.

13 Forte eadem nocte et Alexander ad fauces quibus Syria aditur, et Dareus ad eum locum quem Amani-
14 cas Pylas[3] vocant, pervenit. Nec dubitavere Persae, quin Isso[4] relicta, quam ceperant, Macedones fugerent ; nam etiam saucii quidam et invalidi, qui
15 agmen non poterant persequi, excepti erant. Quos omnis instinctu purpuratorum barbara feritate saevientium praecisis adustisque manibus circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent, satisque omnibus spectatis,
16 nuntiare quae vidissent regi suo iussit. Motis ergo

[1] occulerent *Acidalius;* occulerint *A*.
[2] detrectare *I;* detractare *A*.
[3] Pylas *Merula;* pilas *A*. [4] Isso *Aldus;* isson *A*.

[a] Diod. xvii. 32. 3 specifies the baggage and the women, Arrian ii. 11. 9 these and the money and the luxuries regarded by the king as indispensable.

to vain self-confidence by the absence of his opponent, as soon as he knew that he was coming, made wary instead of rash, had hidden in the defiles of the mountains after the manner of inglorious beasts, which, when they hear the noise of wayfarers, conceal
11 themselves in their lairs in the woods. That, moreover, Alexander was now deluding his soldiers by pretending to be ill. But that he would no longer suffer him to shun the conflict; in that cave into which the cowards had fled for refuge he would crush them all as they skulked there.
12 These boasts were more pretentious than justified. However, after sending all his money and his most valuable possessions to Damascus [a] in Syria, with a moderately large guard of soldiers, he led the rest of his forces into Cilicia, his wife and mother following the army, according to the custom of his nation. His unmarried daughters also, and his little son, accompanied their father.
13 It chanced that on the same night Alexander came to the pass by which Syria is entered, and Darius to the place which is known as the Amanican Gates.
14 The Persians had no doubt that the Macedonians had abandoned Issus, which they had taken, and were in flight; in fact, some of the wounded and sick, who
15 could not keep up with the army, were taken. All these, after their hands had been cut off and seared,[b] at the instigation of his courtiers, who were raging with barbaric savagery, Darius ordered to be led about, in order that they might know his numbers, and then, after having had a full view of everything, might announce to their king what they had seen.

[b] This detail is not mentioned by Arrian, who says that they were grievously mutilated and slain (ii. 7. 1).

castris, superat Pinarum amnem, in tergis, ut credebat, fugientium haesurus. At illi quorum amputaverat manus ad castra Macedonum penetrant, Dareum, quanto maximo cursu posset, sequi nunti-
17 antes. Vix fides habebatur; itaque speculatores mari in eas[1] regiones praemissos explorare iubet ipse adesset, an praefectorum aliquis speciem praebuisset universi venientis exercitus.
18 Sed dum[2] speculatores reverterentur, procul ingens multitudo conspecta est. Ignes deinde totis campis collucere coeperunt omniaque velut continenti incendio ardere visa, cum incondita multitudo maxime
19 propter iumenta laxius tenderet. Itaque eo ipso loco metari suos castra iusserat, laetus—quod omni expetierat voto—in illis potissimum angustiis decer-
20 nendum fore. Ceterum, ut solet fieri, cum ultimi discriminis tempus adventat, in sollicitudinem versa fiducia est. Illam ipsam Fortunam qua aspirante res tam prospere gesserat verebatur, nec iniuria ex his quae tribuisset sibi, quam mutabilis esset reputabat; unam superesse noctem, quae tanti discriminis
21 moraretur eventum. Rursus occurrebat maiora periculis praemia et, sicut dubium esset an vinceret, ita

[1] mari in eas *Meiser;* maritimas *A.*
[2] dum *Hedicke;* cum *A.*

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[a] According to Arrian (ii. 7. 1 and ii. 10. 1), he did not cross the river; *cf.* Callisthenes in Polyb. xii. 17. 3-5; 19. 4-5.
[b] *Cf.* Amm. xxiv. 2. 8 *fugientium cervicibus instantes.*
[c] *Cf.* Sen. *De Ira* ii. 3 *magno imperatori, antequam inter se acies arietarent, cor exsiluit.*

16 Then he moved his camp and crossed the river Pinarus,[a] in order to follow hard on the backs[b] of the fugitives, as he believed them to be. But those whose hands he had cut off made their way to the Macedonians' camp and reported that Darius was following with the greatest speed of which he was
17 capable. They could hardly be believed; therefore Alexander ordered scouts, sent ahead by sea to those regions, to find out whether Darius was coming in person, or whether some one of his generals had made believe that the whole army was on its way.
18 But while the scouts were returning, a great multitude was seen at a distance. Then fires began to shine all over the plains, and everything seemed ablaze with a continuous conflagration, since the disorderly throng pitched its tents over a greater space than usual, especially on account of the number
19 of pack-animals. Hence Alexander ordered his men to measure off a camp right where they were, rejoicing because—as he had sought with every prayer—the battle would have to be fought in those narrow
20 quarters rather than anywhere else. However, as usually happens, when the time of the final decision drew near, his confidence gave place to anxiety.[c] He feared that very Fortune through whose favour[d] he had been so successful, and naturally enough, from what she had bestowed upon him he was led to think how fickle she is; a single night remained to
21 delay the outcome of so great a crisis. On the other hand, he bethought himself that the prizes were greater than the dangers, and that although it was doubtful whether he would be victor, yet one thing

[a] *Cf.* Amm. xix. 6. 1 *aspiravit auram quandam salutis Fortuna.*

illud utique certum esse, honeste et cum magna laude moriturum.

22 Itaque corpora milites curare iussit ac deinde tertia vigilia instructos et armatos esse. Ipse in iugum editi montis escendit multisque collucentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium dis praesidibus loci fecit.

23 Iamque tertium, sicut praeceptum erat, signum tuba miles acceperat, itineri[1] simul paratus ac proelio, strenueque iussi procedere, oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias quas occupare decreverant. Dareum

24 xxx inde stadia abesse praemissi indicabant. Tunc consistere agmen iubet armisque ipse sumptis aciem ordinat.

Dareo adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nuntiaverunt, vix credenti occurrere etiam quos ut fugientes

25 sequebatur. Invadebat ergo[2] non mediocris omnium animos[3] formido—quippe itineri quam[4] proelio ap-

26 tiores erant—raptimque arma capiebant. Sed ipsa festinatio discurrentium suosque ad arma vocantium maiorem metum incussit; alii in iugum montis evaserant, ut hostium agmen inde prospicerent, equos plerique frenabant. Discors exercitus nec ad unum intentus imperium vario tumultu cuncta turbaverat.

[1] itineri *Lauer;* itinere *A.*
[2] invadebat ergo *Hedicke;* erat ergo *Post;* ergo *A.*
[3] animos *Mützell;* animo *A.*
[4] quam *added in I; A omits.*

[a] *Curare corpus* is a general expression; here it means "to take food" (δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, Arr. ii. 8. 1), in vi. 7. 23, "to take a bath," as is shown by vi. 9. 9.

[b] The Greeks divided the night into three watches, the Romans into four. Curtius follows the Roman division in vii. 2. 19. Arrian (ii. 8. 1) says he began his march "at nightfall."

[c] The night-watches were marked by the *bucina* (Livy vii. 35. 1; Sil. Ital. vii. 154 ff.) or by the *tuba* (Veget. ii. 22).

at least was certain, that he would die nobly and with great glory.

22 Therefore he ordered the soldiers to refresh themselves,[a] and then to be ready and armed at the third watch[b]; he himself mounted to the summit of a lofty mountain and by the bright light of many torches offered sacrifice to the tutelary gods of the
23 place. And now the soldiers, ready at the same time for both the march and for battle, had received the third signal of the trumpet[c] and, as warned beforehand, were ordered to advance vigorously; and at daybreak they came to the narrow place[d] which they had decided to hold. Those who had been sent ahead reported that Darius was thirty
24 stadia distant from there. Then Alexander ordered the army to halt, and having armed himself arranged his order of battle.

The terrified peasants reported the coming of the enemy to Darius, who found it difficult to believe that those whom he was pursuing as fugitives were
25 actually advancing to meet him. Hence no slight dread assailed the minds of all—for they were prepared rather for marching than for battle—and they
26 hurriedly armed themselves. But the very haste of those who were running about and calling their companions to arms inspired greater fear; some had gone up to the ridge of the mountain to look out from there for the enemy's line of march, very many were bridling their horses. The army, in disorder and attending to more than one command, by its varied tumult had thrown everything into confusion.

[d] The narrowest part of the defile between Issus and Alexandria (now Alexandretta or Iskanderun); see Xen. *Anab.* i. 4. 4.

27 Dareus initio iugum montis cum parte copiarum occupare statuit, et a fronte et a tergo circumiturus hostem, a mari quoque, quo dextrum eius cornu tegebatur, alios obiecturus, ut undique urgueret. 28 Praeter haec viginti milia praemissa cum sagittariorum manu Pinarum amnem, qui duo agmina interfluebat, transire et obicere sese Macedonum copiis iusserat; si id praestare non possent, retrocedere in 29 montes et occulte circumire ultimos hostium. Ceterum destinata salubriter omni ratione potentior 30 Fortuna discussit; quippe alii prae metu imperium exsequi non audebant, alii frustra exsequebantur, quia, ubi partes labant, summa turbatur.

IX. Acies autem hoc modo stetit. Nabarzanes equitatu dextrum cornu tuebatur, additis funditorum 2 sagittariorumque viginti fere milibus. In eodem Thymondas erat, Graecis peditibus mercede conductis, triginta milibus, praepositus. Hoc[1] erat haud dubie[2] robur exercitus, par Macedonicae phalangi 3 acies. In laevo cornu Aristomedes Thessalus xx milia[3] barbarorum peditum habebat. In subsidiis 4 pugnacissimas locaverat gentes. Ipsum regem in eodem cornu dimicaturum tria milia delectorum equitum, assueta corporis custodia, et pedestris acies, 5 quadraginta milia, sequebantur; Hyrcani deinde

[1] Hoc *Lauer;* haec *A.*
[2] dubie *Modius;* dubium *A.* [3] xx milia *I;* xx *A.*

[a] The modern Deli Chai. His object was to delay the Macedonians, so that he might have leisure to deploy the rest of his army (Arr. ii. 8. 5, who says that he sent about 30,000 cavalry and 20,000 light infantry).

[b] Of Pherae in Thessaly.

[c] *In subsidiis* is used in the Roman sense, as opposed to *prima acies.*

27 In the beginning Darius had determined to take possession of the ridge of the mountain with a part of his forces, intending to surround the enemy in front and in the rear; and on the side also of the sea, by which his right wing was protected, he planned to throw forward others, in order to press hard on all
28 sides at once. Besides this, he had ordered twenty thousand, who had been sent ahead with a force of archers, to cross the Pinarus River,[a] which flowed between the two armies, and to oppose themselves to the forces of the Macedonians; if they could not accomplish that, they were to withdraw to the mountains and secretly surround the hindmost of
29 the enemy. But Fortune, more powerful than any
30 calculation, shattered this advantageous plan; for because of fear some did not dare to carry out the order, others vainly tried to do so, because, when parts waver, the whole is upset.

IX. Now Darius' army was arranged as follows. Nabarzanes with the cavalry guarded the right wing, with the addition of about 20,000 slingers and archers.
2 On the same side was Thymondas, in command of the Greek mercenary infantry, 30,000 in number. This was beyond question the flower of the army, a force
3 the equal of the Macedonian phalanx. On the left wing Aristomedes,[b] a Thessalian, had 20,000 bar-
4 barian foot-soldiers. Darius had placed in reserve [c] the most warlike nations. He himself, intending to fight on the same wing,[d] was followed by 3000 elite horsemen, his usual body-guard, and an infantry
5 force of 40,000; then were arrayed the Hyrcanian

[d] He usually fought in the centre, and he did so in this battle according to Arr. ii. 8. 11 and Callisthenes in Polyb. xii. 18. 9.

Medique equites, his proximi ceterarum gentium ultra eos dextra laevaque dispositi. Hoc agmen, sicut dictum est instructum, VI milia iaculatorum
6 funditorumque antecedebant. Quidquid in illis angustiis adiri poterat impleverant copiae, cornuaque hinc ab iugo, illinc a mari stabant. Uxorem matremque regis et alium feminarum gregem in medium agmen acceperant.

7 Alexander phalangem, qua nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in fronte constituit. Dextrum cornu Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, tuebatur : huic proximi stabant Coenos[1] et Perdiccas et Meleager et[2] Ptole-
8 maeus et Amyntas, sui quisque agminis duces. In laevo, quod ad mare pertinebat, Craterus et Parmenio erant, sed Craterus Parmenioni parere iussus. Equites ab utroque cornu locati : dextrum Macedones Thessalis adiunctis,[3] laevum Peloponnesii tue-
9 bantur. Ante hanc aciem posuerat funditorum manum, sagittariis admixtis. Thraces quoque et Cretenses ante agmen ibant, et ipsi leviter armati.
10 At iis qui praemissi ab Dareo iugum montis insederant Agrianos opposuit ex Thraecia[4] nuper advectos. Parmenioni autem praeceperat, ut, quantum posset, agmen ad mare extenderet, quo longius abesset acies
11 montibus, quos occupaverant barbari. At illi neque obstare venientibus nec circumire praetergressos ausi

[1] Coenos *Aldus;* cenos *A.* [2] et *added in I.*
[3] adiunctis *Aldus;* adiuncti *A.*
[4] Thraecia *Stangl;* graecia *C;* graetia *P.*

[a] The position of the slingers and archers is clearer in Arr. ii. 9. 2-3.

[b] They were a Thracian people, dwelling between mounts Haemus and Rhodopê, and served in various branches of the army. " Lately brought from Thrace " does not apply to all of them, since Agriani had taken part in the whole cam-

and Medic cavalry, next to these that of the remaining nations, projecting beyond them on the right and on the left. This army, drawn up as has been said, was preceded by 6000 javelin-throwers and slingers.[a]
6 Whatever room there was in that narrow space his forces had filled, and the wings stood, on the one side at the mountains, on the other at the sea; they had placed the king's wife and mother, and the remaining throng of women, in the centre.
7 Alexander had stationed the phalanx, the strongest part of any Macedonian army, in the van. Nicanor, son of Parmenion, guarded the right wing; next to him stood Coenus, Perdiccas, Meleager, Ptolemaeus, and Amyntas, each in command of his
8 own troops. On the left wing, which extended to the sea, were Craterus and Parmenion, but Craterus was ordered to obey Parmenion. The cavalry were stationed on both wings; the right was held by Macedonians, joined with Thessalians, the left by
9 the Peloponnesians. Before this battle-line he had stationed a band of slingers mingled with bowmen. Thracians also and the Cretans were in the van;
10 these too were in light armour. But to those who, sent ahead by Darius, had taken their place on the ridge of the mountain he opposed the Agriani[b] lately brought from Thrace. Moreover, he had directed Parmenion to extend his line as far as possible towards the sea, in order that his line of battle might be farther away from the mountains on
11 which the barbarians were posted. But they, having dared neither to oppose the Macedonians as they came up nor to surround them after they had gone

paign (Arr. i. 14. 1; Diod. xvii. 17. 4), nor does *meliorem concursatione quam comminus militem* (viii. 14. 24).

funditorum maxime aspectu territi profugerant, eaque res Alexandro tutum agminis latus, quod ne
12 uperne incesseretur timuerat, praestitit. xxx et duo armatorum ordines ibant; neque enim latius extendi aciem patiebantur angustiae. Paulatim deinde laxare semet[1] sinus montium et maius spatium aperire coeperant, ita ut non pedes solum in ordinem[2] incedere, sed etiam lateribus circumfundi posset equitatus.

X. Iam in conspectu, sed extra teli iactum utraque acies erat, cum priores[3] Persae inconditum et trucem
2 sustulere clamorem. Redditur et a Macedonibus, maior exercitus numero, iugis montium vastisque saltibus repercussus; quippe semper circumiecta nemora petraeque, quantamcumque accepere[4] vo-
3 cem, multiplicato sono referunt. Alexander ante prima signa ibat, identidem manu suos inhibens, ne suspensi acrius ob nimiam festinationem concitato
4 spiritu capesserent proelium. Cumque agmini obequitaret, varia oratione, ut cuiusque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur. Macedones, tot bellorum in Europa victores, ad subigendam Asiam atque ultima Orientis, non ipsius magis quam suo ductu
5 profecti, inveteratae virtutis admonebantur; illos terrarum orbis liberatores emensosque olim Herculis

[1] semet *Hedicke;* se et *A.*
[2] in ordinem *Hedicke;* ordine *A.*
[3] priores *Lauer;* prioris *A.* [4] accepere *I;* accipere *A.*

[a] *Triginta et duo*: this number varied according to the width of the pass; *cf.* Arr. ii. 8. 2 and Callisthenes in Polyb. xii. 19. 4 ff.-6 ff. Polybius' criticisms of Callisthenes are illuminating.

[b] The order varied (see note *a*). Curtius misunderstands Arr. *Tactic.* p. 18, who is referring to the depth of the formation.

past, had fled, especially alarmed by the sight of the slingers; and that action had made safe the flank of Alexander's army, which he had feared might be
12 assailed from above. The Macedonian army advanced in ranks of thirty-two men[a]; for the narrow place did not allow the line to be extended more widely. Then the folds of the mountains began to widen and open a greater space, so that not only could the infantry take their usual order,[b] but the cavalry could cover their flanks.

X. Already the two armies were in sight of each other, but not yet within spear-range, when the foremost Persians raised confused and savage shouts.[c]
2 These were returned also by the Macedonians, making a sound too loud for their actual numbers, since they were echoed by the mountain heights and huge forests; for surrounding rocks and trees always send back with increased din whatever sound they have
3 received. Alexander went on ahead of his foremost standards, repeatedly checking his men by a gesture of his hand, in order that they might not in too eager excitement be out of breath when they entered the
4 battle. And as he rode past the ranks,[d] he addressed the soldiers in different terms, such as were appropriate to the feelings of each. The Macedonians, victors in Europe in so many wars, who had set out, not more under his lead than their own, to subjugate Asia and the farthest parts of the Orient, were reminded of their old-time valour;
5 they, the liberators of the whole world, who had

[c] Diodorus (xvii. 33. 4) seems to describe an inarticulate cry, like the Germanic *barritus*; see Amm. xxxi. 7. 11, and note.

[d] "Along his front," Arr. ii. 10. 2.

et Liberi patris terminos non Persis modo, sed etiam omnibus gentibus imposituros iugum. Macedonum provincias Bactra et Indos fore. Minima esse quae nunc intuerentur, sed omnia victoria[1] aperiri.

6 Non in praeruptis petris Illyriorum et Thraciae saxis sterilem laborem fore, spolia totius Orientis offerri. Vix[2] gladio futurum opus, totam aciem suo
7 pavore fluctuantem umbonibus posse propelli. Victor ad haec Atheniensium Philippus pater invocabatur domitaeque nuper Boeotiae et urbis in ea nobilissimae ad solum dirutae species repraesentabatur animis. Iam Granicum amnem,[3] iam tot[4] urbes aut expugnatas aut in fidem acceptas, omniaque quae[5] post tergum erant, strata et pedibus ipsorum subiecta
8 memorabat. Cum adierat Graecos, admonebat ab his gentibus illata Graeciae bella Darei prius, deinde Xerxis insolentia,[6] aquam ipsos terramque poscentium, ut neque fontium haustum nec solitos cibos
9 relinquerent deditis. Ab his[7] templa ruinis et ignibus esse deleta, urbes eorum expugnatas, foedera

[1] victoria aperiri *P m. pr.;* victori aperiri *C.*
[2] vix] *codex F begins with this word.*
[3] amnem *Lauer;* agmen *C;* agnem *P m. pr.*
[4] iam tot *C;* tot *P.*
[5] omniaque quae *Vindelinus;* omnia quaeque *A.*
[6] insolentia *J. Froben;* insolentiae *A.*
[7] deditis. Ab his *Zumpt;* dedita eis *A.*

[a] Used generally of the western and eastern limits of the world, from the Pillars of Hercules to the end of the triumphal journey of Bacchus, as in ix. 4. 21 ; *cf.* viii. 10. 1 ; ix. 2. 29. This rhetorical phrase does not apply strictly to those whom he was addressing.

[b] And Thebans, at Chaeronea in 338 B.C.

[c] Thebes, razed by Alexander the Great.

formerly passed beyond the bounds of Hercules and Father Liber,[a] would impose their yoke, not alone on the Persians, but also on all nations. Bactra and the Indi would be provinces of the Macedonians. What they now saw before them was the least of their spoils, but everything is laid open to men by victory.

6 Theirs would not be a profitless labour on the steep rocks of Illyricum and the crags of Thrace, but the spoils of the whole Orient were before them. They would hardly need the sword; that whole army, wavering because of its own fear, could be driven be-
7 fore them by the bosses of their shields. He invoked, besides, his father Philip, victor over the Athenians,[b] and presented to their minds a picture of the recent subjugation of Boeotia and the razing to the ground of its most famous city.[c] He spoke now of the river Granicus, now of so many cities either stormed or received in surrender, and called to mind that all that was behind them had been overthrown and
8 trampled under their feet. Whenever[d] he came to Greek troops, he reminded them that it was by these nations that war had been made upon their country through the insolence first of Darius[e] and then of Xerxes, who demanded from them earth and water, in order to leave to the surrendered neither a draught
9 from their springs nor their usual food.[f] By these their temples had been overthrown and burned, their cities stormed, and the obligations of human and

[d] The pluperfect seems to be iterative.

[e] Darius I, son of Hystaspes, whose army was defeated at Marathon in 490.

[f] The demand was merely a symbol that the king was lord of the whole country; Hdt. vi. 48; vii. 82. For comment on such an exaggeration see Livy xxxv. 17. 7.

10 divini humanique iuris violata referebat. Illyrios vero et Thracas, rapto vivere assuetos, aciem hostium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri iubebat, praedam, non arma gestantem; irent et imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent, aspera montium suorum iuga nudasque calles et perpetuo rigentes gelu ditibus Persarum campis agrisque mutarent.

XI. Iam ad teli iactum pervenerant, cum Persarum equites ferociter in laevum cornu hostium invecti sunt; quippe Dareus equestri proelio decernere optabat, phalangem Macedonici exercitus robur esse coniectans. Iamque etiam dextrum Alexandri cornu
2 circumibatur. Quod ubi Macedo conspexit, duabus alis equitum ad iugum montis iussis subsistere, ceteros
3 in medium belli discrimen strenue transfert. Subductis deinde ex acie Thessalis equitibus praefectum eorum occulte circumire tergum suorum iubet Parmenionique coniungi et, quod is imperasset,[1]
4 impigre exsequi. Iamque immissi[2] in medium Persarum undique circumfusi egregie tuebantur se[3]; sed conferti et quasi cohaerentes tela vibrare non poterant: simul erant emissa, invicem[4] concurrentia implicabantur levique et vano ictu pauca in hostem,

[1] imperasset *I;* impetrasset *A*.
[2] immissi *Foss;* ipsi *C;* ipse *P m. pr.*
[3] se *added by Hedicke.*
[4] invicem *Hedicke* (*ed. min.*); in hostem (*ed. mai.*, *A*); in eosdem *C;* in easdem *P m. pr.*

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[a] *Cf.* Livy ix. 40. 5 (of *arma argento et auro caelata*) *praedam verius quam arma esse*; ix. 17. 16 (of Darius) *praedam verius quam hostem.*

[b] Arrian (ii. 10. 3 ff.) gives a much simpler and clearer account of the battle; Curtius, however, has vivid and true descriptions of single scenes of the conflict.

10 divine law violated. As to the Illyrians and the Thracians, men accustomed to live by plunder, he bade them look upon the enemies' army, gleaming with gold and purple, bearing booty rather than arms [a]; let them go on as men and snatch their gold from cowardly women, exchanging their bare mountain-tracks, stiff with perpetual frost, for the rich fields and plains of the Persians.

XI. Now they had come within spear-throw, when the cavalry of the Persians made a fierce charge upon their enemies' left wing [b]; for Darius chose to make it a contest of cavalry, in the belief that the phalanx was the main strength of the Macedonian army. And now he was beginning to encircle Alexander's 2 right wing also. When the Macedonian saw this, he ordered two squadrons of horsemen to remain on the ridge of the mountains and promptly shifted the rest 3 to the main danger-point of the battle. Then he detached the Thessalian horse from the line of battle,[c] and ordered their commander secretly to pass around the rear of his men and join Parmenion, there to 4 do vigorously whatever he should order. And now, having plunged into the midst of the Persians, although surrounded on all sides, they were defending themselves valiantly; but being crowded together and, as it were, joined man to man, they were not able to poise [d] their weapons, and as soon as these were hurled, they met one another and were entangled, so that a few fell upon the enemy with a light and ineffective stroke, but more dropped harm-

[c] On this manœuvre see Arr. ii. 9. 1.

[d] See Veget. iii. 14 *inter ordinem et ordinem a tergo in latum sex pedes distare voluerunt . . . vehementius enim cum saltu cursuque tela mittuntur*; Polyb. xviii. 29. 2.

plura in humum innoxia cadebant. Ergo comminus pugnam coacti conserere, gladiis impigre stringunt.
5 Tum vero multum sanguinis fusum est; duae quippe acies ita cohaerebant, ut armis arma pulsarent, mucrones in ora dirigerent. Non invalido[1] non ignavo cessare tum licuit; collato pede, quasi singuli inter se dimicarent, in eodem vestigio stabant, donec
6 vincendo locum sibi facerent. Tum demum ergo promovebant gradum, cum hostem prostraverant. At illos novus excipiebat adversarius[2] fatigatos, nec vulnerati, ut alias solent, acie poterant excedere, cum hostis instaret a fronte, a tergo sui urgerent.
7 Alexander non ducis magis quam militis munia exsequebatur, opimum decus caeso rege expetens; quippe Dareus curru sublimis eminebat, et suis ad se tuendum et hostibus ad incessendum ingens incita-
8 mentum. Ergo frater eius Oxathres, cum Alexandrum instare ei cerneret, equites quibus praeerat ante ipsum currum regis obiecit. Armis et robore corporis multum super ceteros eminens, animo vero et pietate in paucis insignis, illo utique proelio clarus, alios improvide instantes prostravit, alios in fugam
9 avertit. At Macedones qui[3] circa regem erant mutua adhortatione firmati cum ipso in equitum agmen irrumpunt. Tum vero similis ruinae strages erat. Circa currum Darei iacebant nobilissimi duces, ante

[1] invalido *Hedicke* (*ed. min.*); timido (*ed. mai.*, *A*).
[2] adversarius *Giunta*; aduersus *A*.
[3] qui *added by Post*, et *after* regem *by Hedicke*.

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[a] The *spolia opima* of the Romans; see Livy i. 10. 6; iv. 20. 2.

[b] *Cf.* Amm. xxv. 3. 6 *tamquam ruinam male compositi culminis.*

less to the ground. Forced therefore to join battle hand to hand, they promptly drew their swords.

5 Then truly there was great bloodshed; for the two armies were so close together that shield struck against shield, and they directed their sword-points at each other's faces. Not the weak, not the cowardly, might then give way; foot to foot they fought together like single champions, standing in the same spot until they could make room for them-
6 selves by victory. Therefore they moved ahead only when they had struck down a foeman. But in their fatigue a fresh adversary engaged them, and the wounded could not, as they are wont to do at other times, leave the line of battle, since the enemy were pressing on in front and their own men pushed them back from behind.

7 Alexander performed the duties not more of a commander than of a soldier, seeking the rich renown[a] of slaying the king; for Darius stood high in his chariot, a great incentive to his own men for pro-
8 tecting him and to the enemy for attack. Therefore his brother Oxathres, when he saw Alexander rushing upon the king, interposed the cavalry which he commanded directly before the chariot of Darius. Towering high above the rest in arms and bodily strength, and notable in courage and loyalty among a very few, Oxathres, brilliant at any rate in that battle, struck down some, who pressed on recklessly,
9 and turned others to flight. But the Macedonians around their king—and they were encouraged by mutual exhortation—with Alexander himself broke into the band of horsemen. Then indeed men were laid low like a building fallen in pieces.[b] Around the chariot of Darius lay his most distinguished leaders,

oculos regis egregia morte defuncti, omnes in ora proni, sicut dimicantes procubuerant, adverso corpore
10 vulneribus acceptis. Inter hos Atizyes[1] et Rheomithres[2] et Sabaces,[3] praetor Aegypti, magnorum exercituum praefecti, noscitabantur; circa eos cumulata erant peditum equitumque obscurior turba. Macedonum quoque non quidem multi, sed promptissimi tamen caesi sunt; inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone perstrictum est.

11 Iamque qui Dareum vehebant equi, confossi hastis et dolore efferati, iugum quatere et regem curru excutere coeperant, cum ille veritus, ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit et in equum qui ad hoc ipsum sequebatur imponitur, insignibus quoque imperii, ne fugam proderent, indecore abiectis.
12 Tum vero ceteri dissipantur metu et qua[4] cuique ad fugam patebat via erumpunt, arma iacientes quae paulo ante ad tutelam corporum sumpserant; adeo pavor etiam auxilia formidat.

13 Instabat fugientibus eques a Parmenione emissus, et forte in illud cornu omnes fuga abstulerat. At in dextro Persae Thessalos equites vehementer urge-
14 bant, iamque una ala ipso impetu proculcata erat, cum Thessali, strenue circumactis equis, dilapsi rursus

[1] Atizyes *Modius;* atyzies *A.*
[2] Rheomithres *Modius;* hroimitres *P;* throimites *C.*
[3] Sabaces *Aldus;* sataces *A.* [4] qua *I;* quae *A.*

[a] The unusual word-order gives emphasis to the negative.
[b] On the slightness of the wound *cf.* iii. 12. 2.
[c] A different account is given by Arrian (ii. 11. 4) and by Diodorus (xvii. 34. 2).
[d] *Cf.* iii. 12. 4. Arrian (ii. 11. 5) gives a somewhat different account, and does not mention the king's reason for throwing aside his outer mantle. Curtius *infra* ch. 12. 5 tells how the discarded cloak was interpreted by the women.

slain by a noble death before the eyes of their king, all prone on their faces, just as they had fallen while
10 fighting, after receiving wounds in front. Among them were recognized Atizyes, Rheomithres and Sabaces, governor of Egypt, commanders of great armies; around these were heaped an obscurer throng of infantry and horsemen. Of the Macedonians also were slain, not many indeed,[a] but yet very valiant men; among those wounded, Alexander himself was slightly grazed in the right thigh by a sword.[b]

11 And already the horses of Darius' chariot, pierced with spears and frantic from pain, had begun to toss the yoke[c] and shake the king from his place, when he, fearing lest he should come alive into the enemies' power, leaped down and was placed upon a horse which followed for that very purpose, shamefully casting aside the tokens of his rank,[d] that they
12 might not betray his flight. Then indeed the rest were scattered in fear, and where each had a way of escape open, they burst out, throwing away the arms which a little before they had taken up to protect themselves[e]; to such a degree does panic fear even its means of help.

13 The cavalry sent forth by Parmenion was pressing the fugitives hard, and, as it happened, their flight had taken them all away to that wing. But on the right the Persians were strongly attacking the
14 Thessalian horsemen, and already one squadron had been ridden down by their very onset, when the Thessalians, smartly wheeling their horses about,

[a] *Cf.* Sall. *Cat.* lviii. 16 *in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est.*

in proelium redeunt sparsosque et incompositos victoriae fiducia barbaros ingenti caede prosternunt.
15 Equi pariter equitesque Persarum, serie lamnarum obdita genus tenus[1] graves, agmen quod celeritate maxime constat aegre moliebantur; quippe in circumagendis equis suis Thessali multo[2] occupaverant.
16 Hac tam prospera pugna nuntiata, Alexander, non ante ausus persequi barbaros, utrimque iam victor
17 instare fugientibus coepit. Haud amplius regem quam mille equites sequebantur, cum ingens multitudo hostium cederet.[3] Sed quis aut in victoria aut in fuga copias numerat? Agebantur ergo a tam paucis pecorum modo, et idem metus qui cogebat fugere
18 fugientes morabatur.[4] At Graeci qui in Darei partibus steterant, Amynta duce—praetor hic Alexandri fuerat, tunc transfuga—abrupti a ceteris, haud
19 sane fugientibus similes evaserant. Barbari longe diversam fugam intenderunt; alii qua rectum iter in Persidem ducebat, quidam circuitu rupes[5] saltusque
20 montium occultos petivere, pauci castra Darei. Sed iam illa quoque victor intraverat, omni quidem opulentia ditia. Ingens auri argentique pondus, non belli sed luxuriae apparatum, diripuerant milites.

[1] obdita genus tenus *Post;* obstiti *Jeep;* obditi *Warmington;* ob id genus *A.* [2] multo *Post;* inulti *A.*
[3] cederet *Acidalius;* caderet *A.*
[4] morabatur *A;* morari vetabat *Post.*
[5] rupes *Modius;* rupis *A.*

[a] For a description see Amm. xvi. 10. 8; xxv. 1. 12. *Cf.* Heliodorus, *Aeth.* ix. 15; Rattenbury, *C.R.* lv. (1942), 113.
[b] Either his own or the enemy's; *cf.* v. 13. 22.
[c] *Cf. pecudum more*, v. 13. 19.
[d] *In . . . partibus steterant*: a combination of *stare ab aliquo* and *esse alicuius in partibus; cf.* iv. 1. 13 *pro meliore stant causa.*

slipped aside and returning to the fray, with great slaughter overthrew the barbarians, whom confidence in their victory had scattered and thrown
15 into disorder. The horses and horsemen alike of the Persians, weighed down by the linked plates [a] which covered them as far as the knees, were hard put to it to heave their column along; for it was one which depended above all on speed; for the Thessalians in wheeling their horses had far outstripped their own.
16 When this very successful action was reported to Alexander, who before that had not ventured to pursue the barbarians, being now victor on both wings,
17 he began to press after the fugitives. Not more than a thousand horsemen followed the king when the enemies' huge army gave ground; but who in the hour of victory or of flight counts the troops? [b] Therefore the Persians were driven like sheep [c] by so few, and that same fear which forced them to flee now
18 delayed them. But the Greeks who had fought [d] on Darius' side, led by Amyntas—he had been one of Alexander's generals, but was then a deserter—being separated from the rest, had escaped, not at
19 all in the manner of runaways. The barbarians had fled in widely differing directions: some where the direct road led to Persia, others made, by roundabout ways, for the rocks and hidden defiles of the
20 mountains, a few for the camp of Darius.[e] But that camp also, rich with every kind of wealth, the victor had already entered. The soldiers had plundered a huge weight of gold and silver, the equipment, not of war, but of luxury, and since they were taking

[e] It had been moved from the river Pinarus to a position in the rear of the battle-line.

Cumque plus raperent quam capere possent,[1] passim strata erant itinera vilioribus sarcinis, quas in comparatione meliorum avaritia contempserat.

21 Iamque ad feminas perventum erat quibus quo cariora ornamenta sunt violentius detrahebantur;
22 ne corporibus quidem vis ac libido parcebat. Omni[2] planctu tumultuque, prout cuique fortuna erat, castra repleverant, nec ulla facies mali deerat, cum per omnes ordines aetatesque victoris crudelitas ac
23 licentia vagaretur. Tunc vero impotentis Fortunae species conspici potuit, cum ii qui Dareo tabernaculum exornaverant, omni luxu et opulentia instructum, eadem illa Alexandro, quasi veteri domino, reservabant. Namque id solum intactum omiserant milites, ita tradito more, ut victorem victi regis tabernaculo exciperent.

24 Sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae mater coniunxque Darei; illa non maiestate solum, sed etiam aetate venerabilis, haec formae pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum, in spem tantae fortunae quantam
25 pater eius paulo ante amiserat genitum. At in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae virgines, non suo tantum, sed etiam illius maerore confectae. Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat laceratis crinibus abscissaque[3] veste, pristini

[1] quam capere possent *added by Hedicke.*
[2] Omni *Hedicke;* omnia *A.*
[3] abscissaque *Lauer;* abscisaque *A.*

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[a] Plut. *Alex.* xx. describes the somewhat feminine sumptuousness of the king's quarters more fully, adding Alexander's comment: τοῦτ' ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὸ βασιλεύειν.

more than they could carry, the roads were strewn here and there with packs of less value, which their avarice had scorned in comparison with richer prizes.
21 And now they had reached the women, from whom their ornaments were being torn with the greater violence the more precious they were; force and
22 lust were not sparing even their persons. They had filled the camp with wailing and tumult of every kind, according to the fortune of each; and no form of evil was lacking, since the cruelty and licence of the victor was ranging among all ranks and ages.
23 Then truly an example of Fortune's tyranny might be seen, since those who had lavishly adorned Darius' tent and supplied it with every luxury and form of wealth [a] were now guarding those same treasures for Alexander, as if for their original owner. For these alone the soldiers had left untouched, since it was an established custom that they should receive the victor in the conquered king's tent.
24 But the captive mother and wife [b] of Darius had turned the eyes and minds of all upon themselves, the former venerable, not alone because of her majesty, but because of her age as well; the latter because of her beauty, which was not marred even by her present lot. She had taken into her arms a son, who had not yet passed his sixth year, born to the hope of as great a fortune as his father had lost a short time
25 before. But in the lap of their aged grandmother lay two grown-up maidens, her granddaughters, overwhelmed with grief, not for themselves merely, but also for her. About her stood a great throng of highborn women with torn hair and garments rent, forgetful of their former dignity, calling upon their

[b] Sisigambis and Statira; see also pp. 86-87.

decoris immemores, reginas dominasque veris[1] quon-
26 dam, tunc alienis nominibus invocantes. Illae suae calamitatis oblitae, in utro cornu Dareus stetisset, quae fortuna discriminis fuisset, requirebant; negabant se captas, si viveret rex. Sed illum equos subinde mutantem longius fuga abstulerat.

27 In acie autem caesa sunt Persarum peditum c milia,[2] decem equitum. At a parte Alexandri ad quattuor milia[3] quingenti saucii fuere, ex peditibus cccc[4] omnino et duo desiderati sunt, equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti. Tantulo impendio ingens victoria stetit.

XII. Rex avidius[5] Dareum persequendo fatigatus, postquam et nox appetebat et consequendi spes non
2 erat, in castra paulo ante a suis capta pervenit. Invitari deinde amicos quibus maxime assueverat iussit —quippe summa dumtaxat cutis in femine perstricta
3 non prohibebat interesse convivio—cum repente e proximo tabernaculo lugubris clamor, barbaro ululatu planctuque permixtus, epulantes conterruit. Cohors quoque quae excubabat ad tabernaculum regis, verita ne maioris motus principium esset, armare se
4 coeperat. Causa subiti pavoris fuit, quod mater uxorque Darei cum captivis nobilibus regem, quem interfectum esse credebant, ingenti gemitu eiulatu-
5 que deflebant. Unus namque e captivis spadonibus, qui forte ante ipsarum tabernaculum steterat, amiculum quod Dareus, sicut paulo ante dictum est, ne

[1] veris *Giunta;* ueteris *A*. [2] c milia *I;* c *A*.
[3] milia *added by Hedicke*. [4] ccc *Hedicke;* xxx *A*.
[5] avidius *Stangl;* qui diu *A*.

[a] According to Diodorus (xvii. 37. 2) the pursuit continued until about midnight; Arrian (ii. 11. 6) agrees with Curtius.
[b] *Barbarus* is used in its Greek sense of "foreign,"

queens and mistresses by titles formerly, but no
26 longer, theirs. They, oblivious of their wretchedness, were asking on what wing Darius had stood, what had been the fortune of the battle ; they said that they were not captives if the king still lived. But him, with frequent changes of horses, flight had carried far away.

27 Now in the battle 100,000 Persian foot-soldiers were killed and 10,000 horsemen. But on Alexander's side about 4500 were wounded, of the infantry in all 302 were missing, of the cavalry, 150 were killed. At so slight a cost was that great victory won.

XII. The king, wearied by his too eager pursuit of Darius, as soon both as night drew near [a] and there was no hope of overtaking him, came to the camp
2 which his men had shortly before captured. Then he directed that the most intimate of his friends be invited—for the grazing of the mere surface of the skin on his thigh did not prevent him from taking part
3 in a banquet—when on a sudden a sorrowful sound from the next tent, mingled with oriental [b] wailing and lamentation, alarmed the revellers. The cohort also which was on guard at the king's tent, fearing lest it might be the beginning of a greater com-
4 motion, had begun to arm itself. The reason for the sudden alarm was, that the mother and the wife of Darius, with the captive women of high rank, were mourning with great groaning and outcry for the king,
5 whom they believed to have been killed. For a eunuch among the captives, who chanced to have stood before their tent, recognized the cloak which Darius, as was said a short time before,[c] had thrown

here without the meaning implied in *barbara feritate*, iii. 8. 15.

[c] iii. 11. 11.

cultu proderetur abiecerat, in manibus eius qui repertum ferebat agnovit, ratusque interfecto detractum esse, falsum nuntium mortis eius attulerat.

6 Hoc mulierum errore comperto, Alexander fortunae Darei et pietati earum illacrimasse[1] fertur. Ac primo Mithrenem, qui Sardis tradiderat, peritum linguae Persicae, ire ad consolandas eas iusserat.

7 Veritus deinde ne proditor captivarum iram doloremque renovaret, Leonnatum ex purpuratis suis misit, iussum indicare falso lamentari eas vivum. Ille cum paucis armigeris in tabernaculum in quo captivae erant pervenit missumque se a rege nuntiari[2] iubet.

8 At ii[3] qui in vestibulo erant, ut armatos conspexere, rati actum esse de dominis, in tabernaculum currunt, vociferantes adesse supremam horam missosque qui

9 occiderent captas. Itaque, ut quae nec prohibere possent nec admittere auderent, nullo responso dato, tacitae opperiebantur victoris arbitrium.

10 Leonnatus, expectato diu qui se introduceret, postquam nemo procedere[4] audebat, relictis in vestibulo satellitibus, intrat in tabernaculum. Ea ipsa res turbaverat feminas, quod irrupisse, non admissus

11 videbatur; itaque mater et coniunx provolutae ad pedes orare coeperunt ut priusquam interficerentur Darei corpus ipsis patrio more sepelire permitteret;

[1] inlacrimasse *P;* lacrimasse *C.*
[2] nuntiari *Lauer;* nuntiare *A.*
[3] ii *Vindelinus;* hi *A.*
[4] procedere *Modius;* producere *A.*

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[a] Arr. i. 17. 3, who has Μιθρίνης; Diod. xvii. 21. 7 has Μιθρήνης.

[b] A good example of Alexander's tact.

[c] The Persian dead were not buried or cremated, but covered with wax and laid away; Hdt. iii. 16.

away, in order that his dress might not betray him, in the hands of the man who had found it and was bringing it in; and thinking that it had been dragged from his slain body, they had brought a false report of his death.

6 On hearing of this mistake of the women Alexander is said to have wept over the fortune of Darius and their affection. And at first he had ordered Mithrenes,[a] who had surrendered Sardis and who knew 7 the Persian language, to go and console them; then, fearing lest the sight of the traitor should renew the prisoners' anger and grief,[b] he sent Leonnatus, one of his court, with orders to let them know that they were wrongly grieving for a living man. Leonnatus with a few of his body-guard entered the tent in which the women were, and ordered it to be announced 8 that he had been sent by the king. But those who were in the vestibule, when they saw the armed men, thinking that it was all over with their mistresses, ran into the tent, crying that the last hour had come and that men had been sent to kill the captive 9 women. Therefore, since they could not keep them out and did not dare to admit them, the women made no reply and in silence were awaiting the victor's will.

10 Leonnatus, having waited a long time for someone to invite him to enter, after no one dared to appear, left his attendants in the vestibule and went into the tent. This very action disturbed the women, because he seemed to have broken in, not to have 11 been given audience; and so the mother and the wife, prostrating themselves at his feet, began to plead that, before they were put to death, permission should be granted to them to bury[c] Darius' body in

functas supremo in regem officio impigre esse[1] mori-
12 turas. Leonnatus et vivere Dareum ait[2] et ipsas non incolumes modo, sed etiam apparatu pristinae fortunae reginas fore. Tum demum Darei mater allevari se passa est.

13 Alexander postero die cum cura sepultis militibus quorum corpora invenerat, Persarum quoque nobilissimis eundem honorem haberi iubet matrique Darei
14 permittit quos vellet patrio more sepeliret. Illa paucos arta propinquitate coniunctos pro habitu praesentis fortunae humari iussit, apparatum funerum quo Persae suprema officia celebrarent invidiosum fore existimans, cum victores haud pretiose
15 cremarentur. Iamque iustis defunctorum corporibus solutis, praemittit ad captivas qui nuntiarent ipsum venire, inhibitaque comitantium turba, tabernaculum
16 cum Hephaestione[3] intrat. Is longe omnium amicorum carissimus erat regi, cum ipso pariter eductus, secretorum omnium arbiter, libertatis quoque in admonendo eo non alius plus[4] habebat, quod tamen ita usurpabat ut magis a rege permissum quam vindicatum ab eo videretur. Et sicut aetate par
17 erat regi, ita corporis habitu praestabat. Ergo reginae, illum esse regem ratae, suo more veneratae

[1] inpigre esse *Stangl;* inpigre sese (ingressese *corr. superscr.*) *L;* ingressese *BF;* inpigressese *P;* ingresese *V.*
[2] ait *added by Stangl.*
[3] Hephaestione *Cospus;* ephestione *A.*
[4] plus *Jeep;* ius *A.*

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[a] An awkward expression, somewhat better expressed in iv. 11. 3 and by Arr. ii. 12. 5.
[b] Sisigambis.
[c] *Cf.* vi. 5. 29 and Diod. xvii. 37. 5.
[d] See iii. 3. 22; 11. 24. [e] See v. 2. 22; viii. 5. 6.

their native manner; that after performing that last duty to the king they would without reluctance meet
12 death. Leonnatus said that Darius was alive, and that they would not only be unharmed, but would also be queens,[a] retaining all the tokens of their former fortune. Not until then did the mother of Darius suffer herself to be raised to her feet.
13 Alexander on the following day, after having caused the soldiers whose bodies he had found to be buried with care, gave orders that the same honour should be paid to the noblest of the Persians as well, and that Darius' mother[b] be allowed to bury those
14 whom she wished in the manner of their nation. She therefore directed that a few of her nearest of kin should be buried in accordance with the state of their present fortune, believing that the pomp of the funerals with which the Persians celebrate the last rites to the dead would be out of place, when the
15 victors were cremated in no costly manner. And now, after the proper rites had been performed for the bodies of the dead, Alexander sent a messenger to the captive women that he himself was coming to them, and denying admission to his throng of attend-
16 ants, he entered the tent with Hephaestion. He was by far the dearest to the king of all his friends; brought up with him, and the confidant of all his secrets, he also had more freedom than anyone else in admonishing him, a privilege which he nevertheless used in such a manner that it seemed rather to be allowed by the king than claimed by himself: and though Hephaestion was of the same age as the king, he nevertheless excelled him in bodily stature.[c]
17 Hence the queens,[d] thinking that he was the king, did obeisance to him in their native fashion.[e] There-

sunt. Inde ex captivis spadonibus quis Alexander esset monstrantibus, Sisigambis[1] advoluta est pedibus eius, ignorationem numquam antea visi regis excusans. Quam manu allevans rex: "Non errasti," inquit, "mater; nam et hic Alexander est."

18 Equidem hac continentia animi si ad ultimum vitae perseverare potuisset, feliciorem fuisse crederem quam visus est esse, cum Liberi patris imitaretur triumphum, usque ab Hellesponto ad Oceanum
19 omnes gentes victoria emensus. Sic[2] vicisset profecto superbiam atque iram, mala invicta, sic[2] abstinuisset inter epulas caedibus amicorum, egregiosque bello viros et tot gentium secum domitores indicta causa
20 veritus esset occidere. Sed nondum Fortuna se animo eius superfuderat; ita, qui[3] orientem tam moderate et prudenter tulit, ad ultimum magnitudinem eius
21 non cepit. Tunc quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur. Virgines reginas excellentis formae tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitae
22 forent, coniugem eandemque sororem,[4] quam nulla aetatis suae pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis
23 captivo corpori illuderet. Omnem cultum reddi feminis iussit nec quicquam ex pristinae fortunae magnificentia captivis praeter fiduciam defuit.

[1] sisicambis *P;* sisiiambis *F; so below.*
[2] sic *Scheffer;* si *A.*
[3] ita, qui *Bentley;* itaque *A.*
[4] eandemque sororem *Hedicke;* eius quidem *Post;* eiusdem *A.*

[a] *i.e.* the Indian Ocean. *Cf.* note on iii. 2. 9, above.
[b] Referring especially to the deaths of Clitus, Philotas, Parmenion, and Callisthenes, described in detail later.

upon some of the captive eunuchs pointed out which was Alexander, and Sisigambis fell at his feet, begging pardon for not recognizing the king, whom she had never seen before. The king, taking her hand and raising her to her feet, said: "You were not mistaken, mother; for this man too is Alexander."

18 And indeed, if he could have continued to practise such moderation to the end of his life, I could believe that he would have been happier than he seemed to be when he was imitating the triumphal procession of Father Liber, passing victorious over every nation all the way from the Hellespont to the Ocean.[a]

19 Thus he would surely have mastered pride and wrath, faults which he did not conquer, thus he would have refrained from murdering his friends at banquets, and he would have feared to put to death without a trial men distinguished in warfare, and in company

20 with him the conquerors of so many nations.[b] But not yet had Fortune gained mastery over his mind; so he who treated her so kindly and wisely as she was

21 rising, finally was no match for her greatness. But at that time, at any rate, he so conducted himself that he surpassed all former kings in continence and clemency; the royal maidens of surpassing beauty he treated with as much deference as if they had been

22 born from the same mother as himself: the wife of Darius, who was also his sister, whom no woman of her time surpassed in personal beauty, he was so far from violating, that he took the greatest care that no one should make shameful sport of her person

23 while she was a prisoner. He gave orders that all their ornaments should be returned to the women, and the captives lacked nothing of the splendour of their former fortune except confidence.

24 Itaque Sisigambis "Rex," inquit, "mereris ut ea precemur tibi quae Dareo nostro quondam precatae sumus, nec nostro odio[1] dignus es, qui tantum regem non felicitate solum, sed etiam aequitate
25 superaveris. Tu quidem matrem me et reginam vocas, sed ego me tuam famulam esse confiteor. Et praeteritae fortunae fastigium capio et praesentis iugum pati possum; tua interest, quantum in nos licuerit, si id potius clementia quam saevitia vis esse testatum."

26 Rex, bonum animum habere eis iussis,[2] Darei filium collo suo admovit, atque nihil ille conspectu tum primum a se visi conterritus, cervicem eius manibus amplectitur. Motus ergo rex constantia pueri, Hephaestionem intuens: "Quam vellem,[a] inquit, "Dareus aliquid ex hac indole hausisset![b]" Tum tabernaculo egressus.

27 Tribus aris in ripa Pinari amnis Iovi atque Herculi Minervaeque sacratis, Syriam petit Damascum, ubi regis gaza erat, Parmenione praemisso. XIII. At ille[3] cum praecessisset et Darei satrapam comperi-
2 isset adesse,[4] veritus ne paucitas suorum sperneretur, accersere maiorem manum statuit. Sed forte in exploratores ab eo praemissos incidit natione Mardus, qui ad Parmeniona perductus litteras ad

[1] nec nostro odio *Hedicke;* et ut video *A.*
[2] eis iussis *Hedicke;* eas iussit *A;* iussit et *Post.*
[3] At ille *Hedicke;* atque *A;* Atqui *Jeep;* At *P m. pr.*
[4] adesse *added by Post.*

[a] *i.e.* for your reputation with posterity.
[b] *i.e.* drawn with his mother's milk.
[c] The narrative at this point is confused in all the manuscripts. The supplements adopted—*ille* referring, as in Curtius it regularly does, to a person different from the subject of the preceding verb—will clarify the present editor's

24 And so Sisigambis said: "O King, you deserve that we should offer for you the same prayers which we formerly offered for our own Darius, and you do not merit our hatred, since you have surpassed so great a king, not in good fortune alone, but also in
25 justice. You indeed call me mother and queen, but I confess that I am your handmaid. I both rise to the greatness of my past rank, and I can bear the yoke of my present lot. It is important [a] for you that you should wish that the extent of your power over us should be attested by clemency rather than cruelty."

26 Alexander, bidding them be of good courage, took the son of Darius in his embrace, and the child, not at all frightened at the sight of one whom he looked upon then for the first time, put his arms around his neck. Whereupon the king, touched by the boy's fearlessness, with a glance at Hephaestion said: "How I could wish that Darius had acquired [b] some part of such a nature." Then he left the tent.

27 On the bank of the river Pinarus [c] Alexander consecrated three altars, to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, and made for Damascus in Syria, where the king's treasure was, having sent Parmenion ahead.

XIII. But Parmenion, when he had gone on in advance and had received information that the satrap of Darius was at hand, fearing lest the small numbers of his men should arouse contempt, decided to
2 summon a greater force. But it chanced that a native of Mardia fell in with the scouts whom Parmenion had sent ahead, and when he was brought

interpretation. Here, as always when it is necessary to fill out lacunae, real or assumed, the supplements are purely interpretive.

Alexandrum a praefecto Damasci missas tradit ei, nec dubitare eum, quin omnem regiam supellectilem
3 cum pecunia traderet, adiecit. Parmenio asservari eo iusso litteras aperit, in quis erat scriptum, ut mature Alexander aliquem ex ducibus suis mitteret cum manu exigua, cui quae[1] rex penes[2] ipsum reliquisset traderet.[3] Itaque Mardum datis comitibus
4 ad proditorem remittit. Ille e manibus custodientium elapsus[4] Damascum ante lucem intrat.

Turbaverat ea res Parmenionis animum insidias timentis, et ignotum iter sine duce non audebat ingredi; felicitati tamen regis sui confisus, agrestes qui duces itineris essent excipi iussit. Quibus celeriter repertis, quarto die ad urbem pervenit, iam metuente praefecto ne sibi fides habita non esset.
5 Igitur quasi parum munimentis oppidi fidens, ante solis ortum pecuniam regiam—gazam Persae vocant —cum pretiosissimis rerum efferri iubet, fugam
6 simulans, re vera ut praedam hosti offerret. Multa milia virorum feminarumque excedentem oppido sequebantur, omnibus miserabilis[5] turba praeter eum cuius fidei commissa erat. Quippe quo maior proditionis merces foret, obicere hosti parabat gratiorem omni pecunia praedam, nobiles viros, praetorum

[1] cui quae *Prohasel;* cumque *A.*
[2] penes *Zumpt;* tamen *A.*
[3] traderet *added by Prohasel.* [4] elapsus *I;* lapsus *A*
[5] miserabilis *Lauer;* mirabilis *A.*

to Parmenion, delivered to him a letter which had been sent to Alexander by the governor of Damascus, adding that he had no doubt that the governor would hand over all the royal equipment as well as
3 the money. Parmenion, after giving orders that the Mardian should be put under guard, opened the letter, in which it was written that Alexander should speedily send one of his generals with a small force, to whom he might hand over what Darius had left in
4 his charge. Accordingly he sent back the Mardian to the traitor with an escort; he escaped from his guards and entered Damascus before daylight.

This conduct had disturbed the mind of Parmenion, who feared a plot, and he did not venture to enter upon an unknown road without a guide; nevertheless, trusting to the good fortune of his king, he gave orders that some peasants should be captured, to serve as guides for the journey. When these had been quickly found, he arrived at the city on the fourth day, where the governor was already in a state
5 of fear lest he had not been trusted. Therefore, feigning lack of confidence in the fortifications of the town, before sunrise he gave orders that the king's money—the Persians call it *gaza*—along with his most precious possessions should be brought out, pretending flight, but actually intending to offer it
6 as booty to the enemy. As Parmenion was leaving the city of Damascus, many thousands of men and women followed him, a throng to excite the pity of all, except the man to whose protection they had been entrusted. For in order that the reward for his treachery might be the greater, he was preparing to deliver to the enemy a booty more acceptable than any money, namely, men of high rank, the wives

Darei coniuges liberosque, praeter hos Graecarum urbium legatos, quos Dareus, velut in arce tutissima, in proditoris reliquerat manibus.

7 Gangabas Persae vocant humeris onera portantes ; ii cum tempestatis vim[1] tolerare non possent—quippe et procella subito nivem effuderat et humus rigebat gelu tum adstricta[2]—vestes, quas cum pecunia portabant, auro et purpura insignes induunt, nullo prohibere auso, cum fortuna regis etiam humillimis in
8 ipsum licentiam faceret. Praebuere ergo Parmenioni non spernendi agminis speciem ; qui intentiore cura suos quasi ad iustum proelium paucis adhortatus, equis calcaria iubet subdere et acri impetu in hostem evehi.

9 At illi qui sub oneribus erant, omissis his,[3] per metum capessunt fugam ; armati quoque qui eos prosequebantur, eodem metu arma iactare ac nota
10 deverticula petere coeperunt. Praefectus, quasi esset[4] ipse conterritus simulans, cuncta pavore compleverat. Iacebant totis campis opes regiae, illa pecunia stipendio ingenti militum praeparata, ille cultus tot nobilium virorum, tot illustrium feminarum,
11 aurea vasa, aurei freni, tabernacula regali magnificentia ornata, vehicula quoque a suis destituta, ingentis opulentiae plena, facies etiam praedantibus tristis, si qua res avaritiam moraretur. Quippe tot annorum incredibili[5] et fidem excedente fortuna

[1] tempestatis vim *added by Hedicke.*
[2] adstricta *Acidalius;* adstrictas *A.*
[3] his *added in I.* [4] esset *Hedicke;* et *A.*
[5] incredibili *Lauer;* incredibilem *A.*

and children of the generals of Darius, and besides these the envoys from the Greek cities, whom Darius had left in the hands of the traitor, as if in a very safe citadel.

7 The Persians call men who carry burdens on their shoulders *gangabae*; these, since they could not endure the severity of the weather—for a storm had suddenly brought a fall of snow and the ground was stiff being then bound in frost—put on the robes adorned with gold and purple, which they were carrying with the money, and no one dared to forbid them, since the ill-fortune of Darius gave licence over him
8 even to the lowest of men. They therefore presented to Parmenion the appearance of an army not to be despised; so with unusual care he encouraged his men with a few words, as if for a regular battle, bidding them put spurs to their horses and make a swift charge upon the enemy.

9 But those who were carrying the burdens dropped them and took flight in terror; from the same fear the armed men too who were escorting them began to throw away their arms and make for familiar
10 hiding-places. The governor, by pretending that he himself was panic-stricken, had caused general alarm. Scattered over all the fields lay the king's riches, that money designed for the pay of a great force of soldiers, the adornments of so many men of
11 high rank, of so many illustrious women, golden vases, golden bridles, tents adorned with regal splendour, chariots too, abandoned by their owners and filled with vast riches, a sad sight even for the plunderers, if anything could stand in the way of avarice. For of the fortune, incredible and beyond belief, which had been stored up in the course of so

cumulata tunc alia stirpibus lacerata, alia in caenum demersa cernebantur[1]; non sufficiebant praedantium manus praedae.

12 Iamque etiam ad eos qui primi fugerant ventum erat; feminae pleraeque parvos trahentes liberos ibant. Inter quas tres[2] fuere virgines, Ochi, qui ante Dareum regnaverat, filiae, olim quidem ex fastigio paterno rerum mutatione detractae, sed tum sortem
13 earum crudelius aggravante Fortuna.[3] In eodem grege uxor quoque eiusdem Ochi fuit Oxathrisque—frater hic erat Darei—filia, et coniunx Artabazi, principis purpuratorum, filiusque[4]; Hystanes[5] fuit nomen.
14 Pharnabazi quoque, cui summum imperium maritimae orae rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est, Mentoris filiae tres ac nobilissimi ducis Memnonis coniunx et filius, vixque ulla domus purpurati afuit
15 tantae cladi.[6] Lacedaemonii et Athenienses, societatis fide violata, Persas secuti: Aristogiton et Dropides et Iphicrates,[7] inter Athenienses genere famaque longe clarissimi, Lacedaemonii Pasippus et Onomastorides cum Onomante[8] et Callicratide, hi quoque domi nobiles.

16 Summa pecuniae signatae[9] fuit talentum II milia

[1] cernebantur *I;* ernebantur *A.* [2] tres *P; C omits.*
[3] fortuna *I;* natura *A.* [4] filiusque *Stangl;* filius cui *A.*
[5] Hystanes *Hedicke;* ilioneo *A.*
[6] afuit tantae cladi *Hedicke;* fuit tantae cladis *A.*
[7] Iphicrates *Modius;* lechicrates *P;* lehicrates *C* (leucrates *B*). [8] Onomante *Hedicke;* omaio *A.*
[9] pecuniae signatae *J. Froben;* pecunia signata *A.*

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[a] For *trahentes cf.* Virg. *Aen.* ii. 321; Livy vi. 3. 4.
[b] Her name was Barsinê; Plut. *Alex.* xxi. 8.
[c] It is doubtful whether this applies to the Lacedaemonians; see Arr. i. 1. 2-3.
[d] Arrian (iii. 24. 4) says that Alexander did not seize these

many years, a part was now seen rent by brambles, a part buried in mud; the hands of the ravishers were not sufficient to carry the spoil.

12 And now they had come also to those who had fled first; very many women were dragging[a] their little children as they went along. Among them were three maidens, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; they had formerly been brought down from the high estate of their father by a revolution, but then Fortune was making their lot still 13 more cruel. In the same throng were also the wife of the aforesaid Ochus, and the daughter of Oxathres —he was the brother of Darius—and the wife of Artabazus, chief of the courtiers, and his son; Hystanes was his name.

14 The wife also of Pharnabazus,[b] to whom Darius had given supreme command of the seacoast, along with his son, was taken, the three daughters of Mentor, and the wife and the son of that most famous general Memnon; hardly any house of a member of 15 the court escaped that great disaster. There were captured with these the Lacedaemonians[c] and Athenians who had violated their pledge of alliance and followed the Persians: Aristogiton and Dropides and Iphicrates, by far the most renowned among the Athenians for birth and reputation,[d] the Lacedaemonians Pasippus and Onomastorides with Onomas and Callicratides, these also men of note at home.

16 The sum of coined money was 2600 talents,[e] the

envoys until after the death of Darius, but in ii. 15. 2 he mentions the Spartan Euthycles and the Athenian Iphicrates, besides two Thebans, as taken at Damascus. Alexander's treatment of them is given in Arr. ii. 15. 3-5.

[e] *Cf.* v. 2. 11 *argenti non signati forma, sed rudi pondere*; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii. 5. 13 (42-43). The talent was not a coin.

et sescenta, facti[1] argenti pondus quingenta aequabat. Praeterea xxx milia hominum cum vii milibus iumentorum dorso onera portantium capta sunt.
17 Ceterum tantae fortunae proditorem dei ultores[2] celeriter debita poena persecuti sunt. Namque unus e consciis eius, credo, regis vicem etiam in illa sorte reveritus, interfecti proditoris caput ad Dareum tulit, opportunum solacium prodito ; quippe et ultus inimicum erat, et nondum in omnium animis memoriam maiestatis suae exolevisse[3] cernebat.

[1] facti *Modius;* facile *A.*
[2] dei ultores *Hedicke;* sepulturae *A.*
[3] exolevisse *Lauer;* exsoluisse *A.*

weight of wrought silver [a] amounted to 500 pounds. Besides these, 30,000 men, with 7000 pack-animals
17 carrying burdens on their backs, were taken. But the betrayer of so great a fortune the avenging deities quickly visited with the punishment he deserved. For one of his accomplices, réverencing the majesty of the king, I suppose, even in his present condition, slew the traitor and carried his head to Darius, a timely solace for his betrayal; for he both had gained vengeance over his enemy, and also saw that the memory of his grandeur was not yet effaced from the minds of everyone.

[a] Darius had sent the greater part of his money and his other property to Damascus; even this wealth at Damascus was captured soon afterwards by Parmenion.

BOOK IV

CONTENTS OF BOOK IV

From Issus Darius hastens to the Euphrates. Alexander marches into Phoenicia and takes Marathus, Byblus, and Sidon; at Marathus he answers a haughty letter of Darius, at Sidon makes Abdalonymus king of Sidon. The deserter Amyntas attempts to take possession of Egypt, but is killed by the Persians (i).

Alexander, wishing to sacrifice to Hercules at Tyre, is refused admission to the city. He lays siege to the city, which is separated from the mainland by a strait of four stadia. The Tyrians, trusting to the strength of their position, and hoping for aid from Carthage, refuse to submit (ii).

The siege of Tyre is carried on with great courage and skill on both sides. It was necessary to construct a causeway from the mainland, and the Tyrians made every effort to hinder the work. When Alexander was in doubt whether to continue the attack, he was encouraged by the arrival of a fleet from Cyprus and of Greek soldiers. The Carthaginians were unable to send help to the Tyrians (iii).

A sea monster of enormous size gives an omen which both sides interpret as favourable to themselves. While the Tyrians with feasting and abundant wine are celebrating the victory which they look upon as foretold, their city is stormed and destroyed (iv).

Alexander rejects a second offer of peace made by Darius. The Rhodians surrender their city and port to him. The Greeks at the Isthmian games vote him a golden crown. He appoints governors for the lands which he has conquered. Amphoterus and Hegelochus take Chios and Methymnê (v).

Alexander lays siege to Gaza, which is vigorously defended by Betis. Alexander finally storms the city and, angry because he had been wounded during the attack, inflicts a cruel punishment upon Betis (vi).

Alexander goes to Egypt, to visit the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. The difficulty of the journey because of the intolerable heat and the lack of water is exaggerated by the natives, but Alexander was undaunted and reached the abode of the oracle, which is described. There the priest of the god gave the king the answer he desired. Therefore he not only allowed himself to be called the son of Jupiter, but even ordered it (vii).

Alexander chose a place for a city where Alexandria now is, and leaving men to build it, went on to Memphis. He wished to visit the interior of Egypt and even Ethiopia, but was prevented by the imminent war. Therefore he set in order the affairs of Egypt and the lands which he had subdued (viii).

Darius, having assembled and armed a greater army at Babylon, crossed the Euphrates and Tigris and encamped at Arbela. Alexander followed him and found the crossing of the Tigris so difficult that his army might have been destroyed if Mazaeus had had the courage to oppose him, but the king's perpetual good fortune did not fail him (ix).

Alexander encourages his soldiers, who were alarmed by an eclipse of the moon, and marches to attack Darius. The wife of Darius dies, and Alexander mourns for her. Darius suspected that she had been killed because she had been unwilling to submit to violence, but the slave who had brought the news of her death praised the continence of Alexander (x).

Influenced by Alexander's conduct, Darius offered new conditions of peace and 30,000 talents for the persons of his mother and her daughters. Parmenion advised the king to accept the offer, but Alexander replied that he was not a trader but a king, and refused (xi).

At the sight of Darius' huge host the Macedonians are seized with a sudden panic, and if they had been attacked then might have suffered disaster, but they were quieted by the king. He himself weighed his own resolve against the advice of Parmenion, but had gone too far to be able to withdraw without disaster (xii).

Alexander rejects Parmenion's advice to attack the Persians by night. Resolved upon open warfare, he sleeps calmly until a late hour, when he is awakened by Parmenion. His line of battle (xiii).

The speeches of Darius and of Alexander to their armies before the battle (xiv).

Description of the so-called battle of Arbela, really of Gaugamela. After various shifts of fortune Darius flees, hotly pursued by Alexander (xv).

Alexander is recalled to help Parmenion, who is hard pressed but is finally victorious. As he is returning to his camp, Alexander falls into great peril, but is saved by his boldness and courage (xvi).

LIBER IV

I. Dareus, tanti modo exercitus rex, qui triumphantis magis quam dimicantis more curru sublimis inierat proelium per loca quae prope immensis agminibus impleverat, iam inania et ingenti solitudine
2 vasta fugiebat. Pauci regem sequebantur ; nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant et[1] deficientibus equis cursum eorum quos rex subinde mutabat ae-
3 quare non poterant. Onchas deinde[2] pervenit, ubi excepere eum Graecorum[3] quattuor milia ; non segnius tamen[4] ad Euphraten contendit, id demum credens fore ipsius quod celeritate praecipere potuisset.
4 At Alexander Parmenionem, per quem apud Damascum recepta erat praeda, iussum eam ipsam et captivos diligenti asservare custodia, Syriae quam
5 Coelen vocant praefecit. Novum imperium Syri, nondum belli cladibus satis domiti, aspernabantur ; sed celeriter subacti oboedienter imperata fecerunt. Ara-
6 dus quoque insula deditur regi. Maritimam . tum oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari recedentia rex

[1] et *omitted by L m. pr. P V.* [2] deinde *P;* dein *C.*
[3] eum suorum Graecorumque *? Capps.*
[4] non segnius tamen *Jeep;* iam regius tum *A;* iam regius comitatus tum *Novák.*

[a] See iii. 11. 7. [b] Otherwise unknown.
[c] Arr. ii. 13. 1 includes the surviving Persians in this total.
[d] Hollow, or Lowland Syria, the great valley between the two ranges of Mount Lebanon (Libanus and Antilibanus).

BOOK IV

I. DARIUS, a king at the head of an army lately so great, who rather as if celebrating a triumph than waging war had entered battle standing on high in his chariot,[a] was already in flight through the places which he had filled with his all but countless forces, but which now were without signs of life, a huge waste
2 and solitary desert. The king's followers were few; for not all had turned their flight in the same direction as he, and those who did so could not with their exhausted horses keep pace with those which the
3 king kept constantly changing. Then he arrived at Onchae,[b] where 4000 Greeks [c] received him; but nevertheless he hastened with undiminished speed to the Euphrates, believing that he would be master only of what he was able by swiftness to keep the enemy from seizing.

4 But Alexander had made Parmenion, through whom the booty at Damascus had been recovered, governor of the part of Syria called Coelê,[d] with orders to preserve the booty itself and the prisoners
5 with diligent care. The Syrians, not yet sufficiently tamed by the disasters of the war, rejected the new rule; but they were quickly subdued and obediently did what they were ordered. The island of Aradus also surrendered to Alexander. Straton, the king of the island, at that time possessed the adjoining sea-

eius insulae, Strato, possidebat; quo in fidem accepto,
7 castra movit ad urbem Marathon. Ibi illi litterae a Dareo redduntur, quibus ut superbe scriptis vehementer offensus est; praecipue eum movit, quod Dareus sibi regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri
8 nomini adscripserat. Postulabat autem, magis quam petebat, ut accepta pecunia quantamcumque tota Macedonia caperet, matrem sibi et coniugem liberosque restitueret; de regno aequo, si vellet, Marte
9 contenderet. Si saniora consilia tandem pati potuisset, ut[1] contentus patrio cederet alieni imperii finibus,
10 socius amicusque esset. In ea se fidem et dare paratum et accipere.

Contra Alexander in hunc maxime modum rescripsit: "Rex Alexander Dareo S.[2] Cuius nomen sumpsisti, Dareus, Graecos qui oram Hellesponti tenent coloniasque Graecorum Ionias omni clade vastavit, cum magno deinde exercitu mare traiecit,
11 illato Macedoniae et Graeciae bello. Rursus Xerxes gentis eiusdem ad oppugnandos nos cum immanium barbarorum copiis venit; qui navali proelio victus, Mardonium tamen reliquit in Graecia, ut absens
12 quoque popularetur urbes, agros ureret. Philippum vero, parentem meum, quis ignorat ab iis[3] interfectum

[1] ut *added by Hedicke.*
[2] Dareo S. *Jeep;* dareos *A* (****s *B*). [3] iis *P;* his *C.*

[a] A city on the coast of Phoenicia, opposite the island of Aradus. [b] See Arr. ii. 14. 3.

[c] For *aequo Marte* cf. *pari Marte*, vi. 1. 7; Florus ii. 13. 80. The idea seems to be that Darius would not be fighting on equal terms unless Alexander had first withdrawn from his kingdom.

coast and many places also farther back from the sea; after receiving him in surrender Alexander went on to
7 the city of Marathus.[a] There a letter from Darius was delivered to him by which he was exceedingly offended because of its arrogant tone; it angered him especially that Darius had added the title of King to his own name and had not given the same title
8 to Alexander.[b] Moreover, Darius demanded, rather than asked, that having accepted a sum of money great enough to fill all Macedonia, Alexander should restore to him his mother and his wife and children; as to the sovereignty, he might fight for it, if he so
9 desired, on equal terms.[c] If he could at last listen to more wholesome advice, he would be content with his native kingdom, withdraw from lands ruled by
10 another, and be his friend and ally. To the acceptance of such conditions he was ready to give and to receive a pledge.

In reply Alexander wrote substantially as follows: "King Alexander to Darius, greeting. Darius,[d] whose name you have assumed, brought devastation on the Greeks who dwell on the shore of the Hellespont, and on the Ionian colonies of the Greeks, with every possible disaster, then he crossed the sea with a great army and made war upon Macedonia and Greece.
11 Again, Xerxes, of the same race, came to attack us with hordes of savage barbarians; although defeated in a sea-fight, he nevertheless left Mardonius in Greece, in order that even in his absence he might
12 lay waste our cities and burn our fields. As to my father Philip, who does not know that he was killed

[a] Darius I. *Sumpsisti* is a hit at the manner in which Darius III became king, not by inheritance, but by the plot of a eunuch; see Arr. ii. 14. 5; Diod. xvii. 5. 3 ff.

esse quos ingentis pecuniae spe sollicitaverant vestri ? Impia enim bella suscipitis et, cum habeatis arma, licemini hostium capita, sicut tu proxime talentis mille, tanti exercitus rex, percussorem in me emere
13 voluisti. Repello igitur bellum, non infero. Et di quoque pro meliore stant[1] causa ; magnam partem Asiae in dicionem redegi meam, te ipsum acie vici.[2] Quem etsi nihil a me impetrare oportebat, utpote qui ne belli quidem in me iura servaveris, tamen, si veneris supplex, et matrem et coniugem et liberos
14 sine pretio recepturum esse promitto. Et vincere et consulere victis scio. Quodsi te committere nobis times, dabimus fidem impune venturum. De cetero, cum mihi scribes, memento non solum regi te, sed etiam tuo scribere." Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus est missus.[3]

15 In Phoenicen dein[4] descendit et oppidum Byblon[5] traditum recepit. Inde ad Sidona ventum est, urbem
16 vetustate famaque conditorum inclitam. Regnabat in ea Strato, Darei opibus adiutus ; is[6] quia deditionem magis popularium quam sua sponte fecerat, regno visus indignus, Hephaestionique permissum ut quem eo fastigio e Sidoniis[7] dignissimum arbitraretur

[1] stant *I;* stantes *A*.
[2] m te ipsum acie vici *written twice in P.*
[3] est missus *I;* et missus *A* (*C adds* uel est).
[4] dein *added by Stangl.* [5] Byblon *Aldus;* byblo *A*.
[6] is *Hedicke;* sed *A*. [7] e Sidoniis *Gronov;* sidonis *A*.

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[a] See iii. 6. 4.
[b] A common Phoenician name ; not the same as Straton of iv. 1. 6, above.
[c] Arrian does not tell this story ; Diodorus (xvii. 47. 1-6) wrongly lays the scene of it in Tyre and differs from Curtius

by those whom your countrymen had tempted with the hope of a vast sum of money? Impious, in fact, are the wars you wage, and although you have arms, you bid for the lives of your enemies, just as lately you, the king of so great an army, for a thousand
13 talents wished to hire an assassin to slay me.[a] Therefore it is a war of defence that I am waging, not of offence. And the gods also favour the better cause; I have reduced a great part of Asia into my power, I have defeated you yourself in battle. Although there is nothing that you have a right to expect from me, inasmuch as in dealing with me you have not even observed the laws of war, yet, if you will come to me as a suppliant, I promise that you shall recover without ransom your mother and your wife and your
14 children. I know both how to conquer and how to treat the conquered. But if you fear to trust yourself to me, I will pledge my word that you may come without danger. For the future, when you write to me, remember that you are writing, not only to a king, but also to your king." Thersippus was sent to deliver this letter.

15 Then Alexander marched down into Phoenicia and received the town of Byblos in surrender. From there he came to Sidon, a city renowned for its
16 antiquity and fame of its founders. In it Straton[b] was ruling, supported by the power of Darius; but because he had surrendered rather at the desire of the people than of his own accord, he was deemed unworthy to rule and Hephaestion was allowed to choose as king from among the Sidonians the one whom he thought most worthy of that high station.[c]

in some other particulars. It is told also by Plut. *De Fort. Alex.* ii. 340 c and D.

17 constitueret regem. Erant Hephaestioni duo[1] hospites, clari inter suos iuvenes ; qui, facta ipsis potestate regnandi, negaverunt quemquam patrio more in
18 id fastigium recipi nisi regia stirpe ortum. Admiratus Hephaestio magnitudinem animi spernentis quod alii per ignes ferrumque peterent : " Vos quidem macte[2] virtute," inquit, " estote, qui primi intellexistis quanto maius esset regnum fastidire quam accipere. Ceterum date aliquem regiae stirpis, qui meminerit a vobis acceptum habere se regnum."
19 Atque illi, cum multos imminere tantae spei cernerent singulis amicorum Alexandri iam[3] ob nimiam regni cupiditatem adulantes,[4] statuunt neminem esse potiorem quam Abdalonymum quendam, longa quidem cognatione stirpi regiae annexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exigua colentem stipe.
20 Causa ei paupertatis sicut plerisque probitas erat, intentusque operi diurno strepitum armorum qui
21 totam Asiam concusserat non exaudiebat. Subito deinde de quibus ante dictum est cum regiae vestis insignibus hortum intrant, quem forte steriles herbas
22 eligens Abdalonymus repurgabat. Tum rege eo salutato alter ex his : " Habitus," inquit, " hic vestis quem cernis in meis manibus cum isto squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue corpus illuvie terrenisque[5] sordibus squalidum ; cape regis animum et in eam

[1] duo *added by Vogel.* [2] macte *P;* macti *C.*
[3] Alexandri iam *Hedicke;* alexandriam *A* (alexandri** *B*).
[4] adulantes *Giunta;* adulantibus *A.*
[5] terrenisque *Snakenburg;* aeternisque *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Sen. *De Clem.* iii. 37 *hoc est regnum, nolle regnare cum possis.*

[b] For *longa* in this sense *cf. longinqua*, see x. 10. 19, and

17 Hephaestion was the guest of two young men distinguished among their countrymen; when they were offered the privilege of ruling, they said that according to the custom of their country no one was admitted to that eminence unless born of royal
18 stock. Hephaestion, admiring the lofty spirit that declined what others sought by fire and sword, said "Accept my congratulations, since you have been the first to appreciate how much greater it is to disdain royal power than to receive it.[a] But name someone of royal descent, who will remember that he is holding a sovereignty that was conferred by you."
19 And they, although they were aware that many, eager for so great a prospect, were already courting various friends of Alexander from excessive longing for the throne, decided that no one was preferable to a certain Abdalonymus, a man who had, it is true, a distant[b] connexion with the royal family, but who, because of narrow means, was cultivating a garden in
20 the suburbs at scanty profit. The reason for his poverty, as is true of many men, was his honesty, and intent as he was on his daily toil, he did not hear the
21 din of arms which had shaken all Asia. Unexpectedly then the young men who were mentioned before came with the insignia of the royal dress into the garden, which, as it chanced, Abdalonymus was engaged in
22 clearing up, by plucking out the fruitless weeds. Then, after hailing him as king, one of them said: "You must change that mean garb of yours for the apparel which you see in my hands; wash yourself, stained as you are by the dirt and filth of the earth; take on the spirit of a king and bring over your constancy into

for the opposite, *propinqua cognatione*, v. 3. 12; Nepos, *Praef.* 7.

fortunam qua dignus es istam continentiam perfer. Et cum in regali solio residebis vitae necisque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviscaris status[1] in quo accipis regnum, immo, hercule, propter quem."
23 Somnio[2] similis res Abdalonymo videbatur; interdum, satisne sani essent qui tam proterve sibi illuderent, percontabatur. Sed ut cunctanti squalor ablutus est, et iniecta vestis purpura auroque distincta, et fides a iurantibus facta, serio[3] iam rex eisdem comitantibus in regiam pervenit.
24 Fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe[4] discurrit; aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio eminebat, divitissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamque eius apud
25 amicos Alexandri criminabatur. Admitti eum rex protinus iussit, diuque contemplatus: "Corporis," inquit, "habitus famae generis non repugnat, sed libet scire inopiam qua patientia tuleris." Tum ille: "Utinam," inquit, "eodem animo regnum pati possim! hae manus suffecere desiderio meo; nihil
26 habenti nihil defuit." Magnae indolis specimen ex hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis modo regiam supellectilem attribui ei iussit, sed pleraque etiam ex Persica praeda; regionem quoque urbi appositam dicioni eius adiecit.
27 Interea Amyntas, quem ad Persas ab Alexandro

[1] status *Hedicke;* huius *A.*
[2] Somnio *Merula;* somno *A.*
[3] serio *Giunta;* sero *A.*
[4] tota urbe *Modius;* totas urbes *A.*

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[a] On *suffecere cf.* iii. 6. 19; iii. 13. 11.
[b] On *specimen cf.* Cic. *Tusc.* i. 14. 32 *num dubitas quin specimen naturae capi deceat ex optima quaque natura?*

that fortune of which you are worthy. And when you sit upon the royal throne, master of the life and death of all the citizens, do not forget the condition in which —nay, by Heaven! because of which—you are receiv-
23 ing the crown." It all seemed to Abdalonymus like a dream; from time to time he kept asking whether those who were so saucily making sport of him were altogether sane. But when, as he hesitated, the dirt was washed from his body and a robe adorned with purple and gold was put upon him, and the good faith of the messengers was confirmed by oaths, now a king in earnest, attended by the same youths, he entered the palace.

24 Then Rumour, as is her wont, busily ran about through the whole city; the approval of some, the indignation of others, was manifest, all the richest citizens appeared before Alexander's friends and protested against the new king's low condition and his
25 poverty. Alexander at once ordered that he be given audience, and after gazing at him for a long time said: "Your bearing does not belie the report of your origin, but I am glad to know of the patience with which you have endured privation." Then the new king replied: "I only hope that I may be able to endure sovereignty with the same spirit! these hands have been able to satisfy [a] my desires;
26 having nothing, I have lacked nothing." From these words of Abdalonymus the king gained an impression [b] of his high character. Accordingly he gave orders that not only the regal equipment of Straton should be assigned to him, but also many articles from the Persian booty; he also added to his dominion a territory adjacent to the city.

27 Meanwhile Amyntas, who, as I have said, had

transfugisse diximus, cum quattuor milibus Graecorum ipsius ex acie persecutis[1] fugam Tripolin pervenit. Inde, in naves militibus impositis, Cyprum transmisit et, cum in illo statu rerum id quemque quod occupasset habiturum arbitraretur velut certo iure possessum, Aegyptum petere decrevit, utrique[2] regi hostis et semper ex ancipiti mutatione temporum
28 pendens. Hortatusque milites ad spem tantae rei, docet Sabacen,[3] praetorem Aegypti, cecidisse in acie ; Persarum praesidium et sine duce esse et invalidum, Aegyptios, semper praetoribus eorum infestos, pro
29 sociis ipsos, non pro hostibus aestimaturos. Omnia experiri necessitas cogebat ; quippe cum primas spes Fortuna destituit, futura praesentibus videntur esse potiora. Igitur conclamant, duceret quo videretur. Atque ille utendum animis dum spe calerent ratus, ad Pelusium ostium[4] penetrat, simulans a Dareo se
30 esse praetorem missum.[5] Potitus[6] ergo Pelusii Memphim copias promovit. Ad cuius famam Aegyptii, vana gens et novandis quam gerendis aptior[7] rebus, ex suis quisque[8] vicis urbibusque huc ipsi[9] concurrunt ad delenda praesidia Persarum.

[1] persecutis *Lauer;* persecuto *A.*
[2] utrique *Lauer;* utique *A.*
[3] Sabacen *Aldus;* satacen *P;* satacem *C.*
[4] Pelusium ostium *I;* pelusii hostium *A.*
[5] praetorem missum *Vogel;* praemissum *A.*
[6] Potitus *Hedicke;* potitur *A.*
[7] gerendis aptior] gerendiraptior *P;* gerendis captior *F;* gerendi saptior *L.*
[8] quisque *I;* quique *A.*
[9] huc ipsi *Hedicke;* hoc ipsum *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* iii. 11. 18. Fuller details are given by Arr. ii. 13, 2 ; Diod. xvii. 48. 2.
[b] On the coast of Phoenicia.
[c] *Cf.* iv. 10. 8 *impetu animorum utendum ratus,*

deserted from Alexander to the Persians,[a] with 4000 Greeks who had followed him in his flight from the field of battle came to Tripolis.[b] From there, having embarked his troops on ships, he crossed over to Cyprus, and since he thought that in the present state of affairs every man would possess as if by an inalienable right whatever he had seized, he decided to go to Egypt, being an enemy to both kings and always ready to take advantage of a critical change
28 of circumstances. And having roused his soldiers to the hope offered by so great an exploit, he told them that Sabaces, the governor of Egypt, had fallen in battle; that the Persian garrison was both leaderless and weak, and that the Egyptians, always at odds with their governors, would regard them as allies,
29 not as enemies. Necessity compelled them to try everything; for when Fortune has stranded our first hopes, the future seems to be preferable to the present. Therefore they all shouted that he might lead them wherever he wished. So, thinking it best to make use of their spirits while they were warm with hope,[c] he made his way to the Pelusian mouth,[d] pretending that he had been sent as governor by
30 Darius. Then, having got possession of Pelusium, he moved his forces on to Memphis. At the report of this the Egyptians, a fickle race[e] and more inclined to start a revolution than to achieve anything great,[f] of their own accord rushed thither together, each from his own village or city, to destroy the Persian garrisons.

[a] Of the Nile.

[e] A general reputation; *cf.* Pliny, *Paneg.* xxxi. 2 *ventosa et insolens.*

[f] *Cf.* Livy vii. 27. 7 (of the Volscians) *ferocior ad rebellandum quam bellandum gens.*

Qui territi tamen spem retinendi Aegyptum non
31 omiserunt. Sed eos Amyntas proelio superatos in urbem compellit castrisque positis victores ad populandos agros educit.[1] Velut in medio positis bonis[2]
32 hostium cuncta agebantur ; itaque Mazaces, quamquam infelici proelio suorum animos territos esse cognoverat, tamen palantes et victoriae fiducia incautos ostentans, perpulit ne dubitarent ex urbe
33 erumpere et res amissas reciperare. Id consilium non ratione prudentius quam eventu felicius fuit ; ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has poenas Amyntas utrique regi dedit, nihilo magis ei ad quem transfugerat fidus, quam illi quem deseruerat.

34 Darei praetores qui proelio apud Isson superfuerant, cum omni manu quae fugientes secuta erat, assumpta etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum iuven-
35 tute, Lydiam reciperare temptabant. Antigonus, praetor Alexandri, Lydiae praeerat ; qui quamquam plerosque militum ex praesidiis ad regem dimiserat, tamen barbaris spretis in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoque fortuna partium fuit ; tribus proeliis alia atque alia regione commissis Persae funduntur.
36 Eodem tempore classis Macedonum ex Graecia accita Aristomenen, qui ad Hellesponti oram reciperandam a Dareo erat missus, captis eius aut eversis navibus
37 superat. A Milesiis deinde Pharnabazus, praefectus

[1] educit *added by Rolfe.*
[2] bonis *Hedicke;* dis *FBV;* positisedis *L;* posiditis *P m. pr.*

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[a] The text is very uncertain, and various attempts to remedy it have been made.
[b] This battle is not mentioned elsewhere.

The Persians, although terrified, did not nevertheless abandon hope of retaining their hold upon Egypt.
31 But Amyntas defeated them in battle, drove them into the city, and after pitching a camp led out his victorious troops to lay waste the fields. As if the property of the enemy was open to all, everything
32 was being carried off[a]; hence Mazaces, although he knew that the minds of his men were terrified by their defeat, yet pointed out that the enemy were straggling and careless through the confidence inspired by victory and induced them not to hesitate to sally forth from the city and recover their lost possessions.
33 That plan was equally wise in design and successful in its result. All the Greeks were slain to a man, along with their leader himself. Such was the penalty that Amyntas paid to both kings, having shown himself not a whit more loyal to the one to whom he had deserted than to the one whom he had forsaken.
34 The generals of Darius who had survived the battle of Issus, and all the force that had followed them in their flight, with the addition of vigorous young soldiers of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians, were
35 trying to recover Lydia. The governor of Lydia was Antigonus, one of Alexander's generals; he, although he had sent very many soldiers from his garrisons to the king, nevertheless scorned the barbarians and led his forces out to battle. There also the fortune of the contending parties was the same; in three battles fought in one region and another the Persians were
36 routed. At the same time a fleet of the Macedonians, which had been summoned from Greece, defeated[b] Aristomenes, who had been sent by Darius to recover the coast of the Hellespont, and captured
37 or sank his ships. Then Pharnabazus, commander of

Persicae classis, pecunia exacta, et praesidio in urbem Chium introducto centum navibus Andrum et inde Siphnum petiit. Has[1] quoque insulas praesidiis occupat, pecunia multat.

38 Magnitudo belli quod ab opulentissimis Europae Asiaeque regibus in spem totius orbis occupandi gerebatur Graeciae quoque et Cretae arma commoverat.

39 Agis, Lacedaemoniorum rex, octo milibus Graecorum qui ex Cilicia profugi domos repetierant contractis, bellum Antipatro, Macedoniae praefecto, moliebatur.

40 Cretenses has aut illas partes secuti nunc Spartanorum,[2] nunc Macedonum praesidiis occupabantur. Sed leviora inter illos fuere discrimina unum certamen, ex quo cetera pendebant, intuente Fortuna.

II. Iam tota Syria, iam Phoenice quoque excepta Tyro Macedonum erat, habebatque rex castra in continenti, a qua[3] urbem angustum fretum dirimit.

2 Tyros, et magnitudine et claritate ante omnes urbes Syriae Phoenicesque[4] memorabilis, facilius societatem Alexandri acceptura videbatur quam imperium. Coronam igitur auream donum legati afferebant commeatusque large et hospitaliter ex oppido advexerant. Ille dona ut ab amicis accipi iussit benigne-

[1] Has *Modius;* is *or* his *A.*
[2] Spartanorum *Vindelinus;* parianorum *A.*
[3] qua *N. Heinse;* quo *A.*
[4] Phoenicesque *J. Froben;* phoenicisque *C;* phaenicisque *P.*

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[a] The sequence of these events is confused by Curtius ; see Arr. ii. 13. 4, and on an earlier disaster to Miletus in this war Arr. i. 18. 3 ff.

[b] Fuller particulars are given by Diod. xvii. 48. 1; Arr. ii. 13. 4 ff.

[c] It seems improbable that Macedonian forces were in Crete at that time; the reference is doubtless to the

the Persian fleet, having exacted money from the Milesians [a] and put a garrison into the city of Chios, sailed with a hundred ships to Andros and from there to Siphnos. These islands also he occupied with garrisons, besides fining them.

38 The great war which was being waged by the most powerful kings of Europe and Asia in the hope of getting control of the whole world had set in motion
39 the arms also of Greece and of Crete. Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians, having assembled the 8000 Greeks who had fled from Cilicia and returned home, was undertaking a war with Antipater, governor of
40 Macedonia.[b] The Cretans, who had sided first with one party and then with the other, had their country occupied by garrisons now of the Spartans, now of the Macedonians.[c] But the crises among these were of slight importance, since Fortune had her eyes fixed upon the one contest on which all the rest depended.

II. Already all Syria, already Phoenicia also, except Tyre, were in the possession of the Macedonians, and Alexander was encamped on the mainland, from which a narrow strait separates the city.
2 Tyre, noteworthy both in size and in fame among all the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, seemed more inclined to accept an alliance with Alexander than to submit to his rule.[d] Therefore envoys were bringing him the gift of a golden crown and the Tyrians had sent him from the city provisions in abundance and in a spirit of hospitality. Alexander gave orders that the gifts should be received as a token of friendship, and addressing the envoys courteously, said that he

adherents of the Macedonian cause, or perhaps it is an error in chronology ; *cf.* iv. 8. 15.

[d] See Arr. ii. 15. 6 ff.

que legatos allocutus Herculi, quem praecipue Tyrii
3 colerent, sacrificare velle se dixit ; Macedonum reges credere ab illo deo ipsos[1] genus ducere, se vero ut id
4 faceret etiam oraculo monitum. Legati respondent esse templum Herculis extra urbem in ea sede quam Palaetyron ipsi vocent ; ibi regem deo sacrum rite
5 facturum. Non tenuit iram, cuius alioqui potens non erat. Itaque : " Vos quidem," inquit, " fiducia loci, quod insulam incolitis, pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis, sed brevi ostendam in continenti vos esse. Proinde sciatis licet aut intraturum me urbem aut oppugnaturum."
6 Cum hoc responso dimissi suos[2] monere coeperunt ut regem, quem Syria, quem Phoenice recepisset, ipsi
7 quoque urbem intrare paterentur. At illi, loco satis fisi, obsidionem ferre decreverant. Namque urbem a continenti quattuor stadiorum fretum dividit, Africo maxime obiectum crebros ex alto fluctus in
8 litus evolventi.[3] Nec accipiendo operi, quo Macedones continenti insulam iungere parabant, quicquam magis quam ille ventus obstabat. Quippe vix leni et tranquillo mari moles agi possunt, Africus vero prima quaeque congesta pulsu inlisi maris[4] subruit, nec ulla tam firma moles est, quam non exedant undae et per nexus[5] operum manantes et, ubi acrior flatus existit,

[1] ipsos *C;* ipso *P.* [2] dimissi suos *Orelli;* demissos *A.*
[3] evolventi *Hedicke;* euoluit *A.*
[4] inlis* maris *I;* inlisia mari *V;* inlis*a mari *P;* inlisa mari *BFL.*
[5] per nexus *I;* perenixus *C;* pernixus *P m. pr.*

[a] Under the name of Melcarth. Cic. *Nat. Deorum* iii. 16. 42 gives six Herculeses. See Amm. xv. 9. 3, note 3, and on the Tyrian Hercules, Arr. ii. 16.

[b] Palaetyros, situated on the mainland, 30 stadia south of the new city.

wished to offer sacrifice to Hercules, whom the
3 Tyrians specially honoured [a]; that the kings of Macedon believed that they derived their descent from that god, and that moreover he had been ad-
4 vised by an oracle to do that thing. The envoys replied that there was a temple of Hercules outside of the city, in the place which they call Old Tyre [b]; that there the king would properly offer sacrifice to
5 the god. Alexander could not restrain his anger, which as a rule he was unable to control. Accordingly he said: "You indeed, relying on your situation, because you live on an island, despise this army of foot-soldiers, but I will soon show you that you are on the mainland. Therefore I want you to know that I will either enter your city or besiege it."
6 The envoys, dismissed with this response, began to warn their countrymen that a king whom Syria, whom Phoenicia, had received they also should suffer to
7 enter their city. But the Tyrians, having plenty of confidence in their situation, had decided to sustain a siege; for a strait of four stadia separates the city from the mainland and was especially exposed to the Afric [c] wind, which rolls upon the shore wave on wave
8 from the deep. And there was nothing which more than that wind stood in the way of receiving the work by which the Macedonians were preparing to join the island to the mainland. Even with a calm and mild sea foundations can only with difficulty be laid, while the Afric wind, by the blows of the sea as it dashes against them undermines all the first structures, and no mass is so firm that the waters do not eat it away, both by trickling through the joints of the works, and when a more violent wind rises, by

[c] The southwest wind.

summi operis fastigio superfusae. Praeter hanc
9 difficultatem haud minor alia erat. Muros turresque urbis praealtum mare ambiebat; non tormenta nisi e navibus[1] procul excussa mitti, non scalae moenibus applicari poterant, praeceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter; naves nec habebat rex et, si admovisset, pendentes et instabiles missilibus arceri poterant.

10 Inter quae parva dictu res Tyriorum fiduciam accendit. Carthaginiensium legati ad celebrandum sacrum anniversarium more patrio tunc venerant; quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt, semper paren-
11 tum loco culti. Hortari ergo Poeni coeperunt ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur; brevi Carthagine auxilia ventura. Namque ea tempestate magna ex
12 parte Punicis classibus maria obsidebantur. Igitur, bello decreto, per muros turresque tormenta disponunt, arma iunioribus dividunt, opifices, quorum copia urbs abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatu strepunt; ferreae quoque manus—harpagonas[2] vocant—quas operibus hostium inicerent,

[1] e navibus *C;* nauibus *P.*
[2] harpagonas *I;* arpagonas *A.*

[a] *Cf.* viii. 10. 31 *summae fastigium terrae*; Virg. *Aen.* ii. 302 *summi fastigia tecti.*

[b] *Cf.* Caes. *B.G.* iv. 23 (*maritimae res*) *quae celerem et instabilem motum haberent.*

[c] One might expect *haud parva*, but *cf.* Livy xxx. 34. 2 *dictu parva sed magni eadem in re gerenda momenti.* Or Curtius may have had in mind the outcome of the promise, see iv. 3. 19.

[d] Probably to Hercules; *cf.* Diod. xx. 14. 1.

[e] The general purpose of these devices was the same and

pouring over the top of the entire structure.[a] Besides
9 this difficulty there was another equally great. The walls and towers of the city were surrounded by very deep sea; artillery could not be used except when its shots were hurled from ships at a distance, nor could scaling-ladders be applied to the fortifications, since the walls, descending sheer into the surge, had blocked any approach on foot; moreover Alexander had no ships, and if he could have brought them up to the wall, being afloat and unsteady,[b] they could have been kept at bay by missiles.

10 Meanwhile a thing slight to mention[c] fired the confidence of the Tyrians. Envoys of the Carthaginians had come at that time to celebrate an annual festival[d] in the manner of their country; for the Tyrians founded Carthage and were always honoured as the
11 forefathers of the Carthaginians. Therefore they began to urge the Tyrians to endure the siege with a courageous spirit; soon help would come from Carthage. For at that time the seas were in great
12 part beset by the Punic fleets. Accordingly, the Tyrians declared war and placed artillery at intervals along the walls and in the towers, distributed arms to the men of military age, and assigned workmen, of whom the city had a great abundance, to the various factories. The whole place resounded with preparation for war; iron hands[e] also (they call them *harpagones*, "grapplers"), to throw upon the enemies'

they are variously described by different writers. Caes. *B.C.* i. 57 distinguishes *manus ferreae* and *harpagones*, as does also Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 56 (209). The *corvus* used by Duilius is described at length by Polyb. i. 22. 4 ff., but it is obviously different from that mentioned by Curtius (here and in iv. 3. 26) and Diodorus (xvii. 44. 4). On other devices see Diod. xvii. 41. 3 ff.

corvique et alia tuendis urbibus excogitata praeparabantur.

13 Sed cum fornacibus ferrum quod excudi oportebat impositum esset, admotisque follibus ignem flatu accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub ipsis flammis exstitisse dicuntur; idque omen in Macedonum interitum[1] 14 verterunt Tyrii. Apud Macedonas quoque cum forte panem quidam militum frangerent, manantis sanguinis guttas notaverunt, territoque rege, Aristander, peritissimus vatum, si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset, Macedonibus id triste futurum ait; contra, cum ex interiore[2] parte manaverit,[3] urbi quam obsidere desti- 15 nassent[4] exitium portendere. Alexander, cum et classem procul haberet et longam obsidionem magno sibi ad cetera impedimento videret fore, caduceatores qui ad pacem eos[5] compellerent misit; quos Tyrii contra ius gentium occisos praecipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille, suorum tam[6] indigna morte commotus, urbem obsidere statuit.

16 Sed ante[7] iacienda moles erat quae continenti urbem committeret. Ingens ergo animis[8] militum desperatio incessit cernentibus profundum mare, quod vix divina ope posset impleri; quae saxa tam vasta, quas tam proceras arbores posse reperiri? exhauriendas esse regiones, ut illud spatium exaggeraretur; exaestuare semper fretum, quoque artius

[1] interitum *Vogel;* metum *A.*
[2] ex interiore *Hedicke* (*ed. minor;* ab interiore *ed. maior*); ab in**teriore *B;* ab exteriore *P;* exteriore *D m. pr.*
[3] manaverit *Lauer;* manaverat *A.* [4] destinasset *D.*
[5] eos] *D omits.* [6] tam *Iunius;* iam *AD.*
[7] ante] *D omits.* [8] animis *I;* animos *AD.*

[a] *Cf.* vii. 7. 8.
[b] *Cf.* Livy xxxix. 25. 10 *iam ne a legatis quidem, qui iure gentium sancti sunt, violandis abstinere.*

works, ravens, and other devices for the protection of cities were made ready in advance.

13 But when the iron which it was necessary to forge had been placed in the furnaces, and the fires were fanned into a blaze by the application of bellows, streams of blood are said to have flowed out in the very midst of the flames, and this the Tyrians interpreted as portending the destruction of the 14 Macedonians. Among the Macedonians also, when some of the soldiers happened to break bread, they noticed drops of blood trickling out, and when the king was alarmed,[a] Aristander, the most skilled of the seers, declared that if the blood had flowed from without, it would be an unfavourable omen for the Macedonians; but on the contrary, since it flowed from an inner part, it foretold destruction for the city which they had determined to 15 besiege. Alexander, both because the fleet which he had was afar off, and because he saw that a long blockade would be a great hindrance to the rest of his plans, sent heralds to urge the Tyrians to make peace; but these, in violation of the law of nations,[b] they killed and threw into the sea. Upon this the king, greatly angered by such outrageous death of his men, resolved to besiege the city.

16 But first it was necessary to make a causeway, in order to connect the city with the mainland. Hence the minds of the soldiers were assailed by extreme discouragement, as they looked upon the deep sea, which could hardly be filled even by divine help; what rocks huge enough, they thought, what trees tall enough, can be found? It would be necessary to strip whole regions in order to fill so great a space with material; then too the strait is always in commotion,

volutetur inter insulam et continentem, hoc acrius
17 furere. At ille, haudquaquam rudis pertractandi militares[1] animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronuntiat dextram porrigentis; illo duce, illo aperiente in urbem intrare se visum. Inter haec caduceatores interfectos, gentium iura violata referebat; unam esse urbem, quae cursum victoris
18 morari ausa[2] esset. Ducibus deinde negotium datur ut suos quisque castiget, satisque omnibus stimulatis, opus orsus est.

Magna vis saxorum ad manum erat, Tyro Vetere praebente,[3] materies ex Libano monte ratibus et
19 turribus faciendis advehebatur. Iamque a fundo maris in altitudinem modicam opus creverat, nondum
20 tamen aquae fastigium aequabat, cum Tyrii, parvis navigiis admotis, per ludibrium exprobrabant, illos armis inclitos dorso sicut iumenta onera gestare; interrogabant etiam, num maior Neptuno Alexander esset. Haec ipsa insectatio alacritatem militum ac-
21 cendit. Iamque paulum moles aqua[4] eminebat, et simul aggeris latitudo crescebat urbique admovebatur,[5] cum Tyrii, magnitudine molis, cuius incrementum eos antea fefellerat, conspecta, levibus navigiis nondum commissum opus circumire coeperunt, missilibus quoque eos[6] qui pro opere stabant incessere.
22 Multis ergo impune vulneratis, cum et removere et

[1] militaris *D*. [2] ausi *D*.
[3] praebente] praebente*, *P*; praebet ei *D*.
[4] aquae *DB m. sec.*, *P m. sec.*
[5] admovebatur *Lauer*; admouebantur *AD*.
[6] quoque eos *I*; eos quoque *AD*.

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[a] *Cf.* Caes. *B.C.* i. 3 *segniores castigat et incitat.*
[b] See iv. 2. 4, note.
[c] *Cf. committeret*, § 16, above.

and the more confined the space in which it is whirled about between the island and the mainland, the more
17 fiercely does it rage. But Alexander, who was by no means inexperienced in working upon the minds of soldiers, announced that an apparition of Hercules had appeared to him in his sleep, offering him his right hand ; with that god leading him and opening the way he dreamed that he entered the city. In his speech he also reminded them of the murder of the heralds and the violation of the law of nations ; this, he added, was the only city that had ventured
18 to delay the victor's progress. Then he instructed each of his generals to whip up his own soldiers' courage, and when all had been sufficiently aroused,[a] he began the work.

A great amount of rocks was available, supplied by Old Tyre,[b] timber was brought from Mount Libanus
19 for making rafts and towers. And already the work had grown from the bottom of the sea to a moderate height, but nevertheless had not yet reached the sur-
20 face of the waters, when the Tyrians, bringing up some small boats, mocked them with the taunt that those men famous in arms were carrying loads on their backs like beasts of burden ; they also asked whether Alexander was greater than Neptune. These very insults inspired the soldiers to greater
21 eagerness. And now the massive structure was rising a little above the water and at the same time the causeway was increasing in width and moving towards the city, when the Tyrians, seeing the size of the structure, whose increase had hitherto escaped their notice, began to encircle with light craft the work which did not yet form a juncture,[c] and also to assail
22 with missiles those who stood upon it. Therefore,

appellere scaphas in expedito esset, ad curam semet ipsos tuendi ab opere converterant. Et, quo longius moles agebatur a litore, hoc magis quidquid ingerebatur praealtum absorbebat mare.

23 Igitur rex[1] munientibus coria velaque iussit obtendi, ut extra teli iactum essent, duasque turres ex capite molis[2] erexit, e quibus in subeuntes scaphas
24 tela ingeri possent. Contra Tyrii navigia procul a conspectu hostium litori appellunt, expositisque militibus, eos qui saxa gestabant obtruncant. In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes, incompositos Macedonas adorti,[3] xxx fere interficiunt paucioribus captis. III. Ea res Alexandrum dividere copias coëgit et, ne segniter assidere uni urbi videretur, operi Perdiccan Crateronque praefecit, ipse cum expedita manu
2 Arabiam petiit. Inter haec Tyrii navem magnitudine eximia saxis harenaque a puppi oneratam, ita ut multum prora emineret, bitumine ac sulphure illitam remis concitaverunt, et cum magnam vim venti vela quoque concepissent, celeriter ad molem
3 successit. Tum prora eius accensa, remiges desiluere

[1] rex *Gronov;* ex *AD.* [2] montis *D.*
[3] adorti *I;* adhorti *AD.*

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[a] This seems to call for *extra teli ictum*, rather than *extra teli iactum*, " out of range of a missile " (*e.g.* iii. 10. 1).

[b] Not the end of the causeway, but the part highest above the water ; see Arr. ii. 18. 6.

[c] Arabians is used in a broader sense than usual ; so also Arr. ii. 20. 4.

[d] While cutting and shipping timber from Mt. Libanus; iv. 2. 18. [e] See note *c*.

when many had been wounded without harm to their assailants, since it was easy both to withdraw and to bring up the skiffs, they had diverted them from their work to the care of protecting their own lives. Besides, the farther the causeway was pushed from the shore, the more did the great depth of the sea swallow up whatever was thrown into it.

23 Therefore the king gave orders that hides and canvas should be stretched before the workmen, in order that they might be out of reach of the missiles,[a] and raised two towers on the highest part of the causeway,[b] from which weapons could be showered
24 upon the boats as they came up. To meet this the Tyrians brought the boats to the shore, too far away to be seen by the enemy, and landing soldiers, butchered those who were carrying rocks. On Mount Libanus also the peasants of the Arabians [c] attacked the Macedonians when they were in disorder,[d] killed about thirty, and took a smaller number of prisoners.

III. This state of affairs compelled Alexander to divide his forces, and lest he should seem slow in besieging one city, he left Perdiccas and Craterus in charge of that work and himself went to Arabia [e]
2 with a light-armed band. Meanwhile the Tyrians so loaded a ship of unusual size, by piling rocks and sand in the stern, that the prow was greatly raised, smeared [f] it with bitumen and sulphur, and drove it ahead by oars ; and when its sails also had caught the wind in full force, it quickly reached
3 the causeway. Then, after setting fire to the prow, the rowers leaped into skiffs which were following,

[f] According to Arrian (ii. 19. 1-2), who gives a fuller description of the ship, it was filled besides with inflammable material.

in scaphas quae ad hoc ipsum praeparatae sequebantur, navis autem igne concepto latius fundere incendium coepit, quod, priusquam posset occurri, turres et cetera opera in capite molis posita compre-
4 hendit[1]; at qui desiluerant in parva navigia faces et quidquid alendo igni aptum erat in eadem opera ingerunt. Iamque non imae[2] modo Macedonum turres, sed etiam summa tabulata conceperant ignem, cum ii qui in turribus erant partim haurirentur incendio, partim armis omissis in mare semet ipsi
5 immitterent. At Tyrii, qui capere eos quam interficere mallent, natantium manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant, donec debilitati impune navigiis excipi
6 possent. Nec incendio solum opera consumpta, sed forte eodem die vehementior ventus motum[3] ex profundo mare illisit in molem, crebrisque fluctibus compages operis verberatae laxavere se,[4] saxaque
7 interfluens unda medium opus rupit. Prorutis[5] igitur lapidum cumulis quibus iniecta terra sustinebatur praeceps in profundum ruit, tantaeque molis vix ulla vestigia invenit Arabia rediens Alexander.

Hic,[6] quod in adversis rebus solet fieri, alius in alium culpam referebant, cum omnes verius de sae-
8 vitia maris queri possent. Rex novi operis molem orsus, in adversum ventum non latere, sed recta

[1] conprehendit *L;* conpreendit *P;* conprendit *BFV.*
[2] imae *added by Madvig.*
[3] motum *J. M. Palmer;* totum *A.* [4] se *added by Aldus.*
[5] prorutis *P m. pr.;* promptis *C.* [6] id *P.*

[a] *Ad hoc ipsum*; *cf.* iii. 11. 11.

[b] This is greatly exaggerated; see Arr. ii. 19. 5, who does not mention the storm, nor the change in direction of the causeway (see section 8, below), but only says that it was made broader; *cf.* also Diod. xviii. 42. 5.

designed in advance for that very purpose,[a] but the ship, having caught fire, began to spread far and wide flames, which, before they could be prevented, seized upon the towers and other works that had been
4 placed at the head of the causeway: then those who had leaped into the small boats heaped upon the towers and other works firebrands and whatever else was suitable for feeding the flames. And now, not only the lower parts of the Macedonians' towers, but also the topmost storeys had caught fire, whereupon those who were in the towers were either consumed by the flames or threw away their arms and leaped
5 into the sea. But the Tyrians, who preferred to take them prisoner rather than kill them, lacerated the hands of the swimmers with stakes and stones, until they were disabled and could be taken into the boats
6 without danger. Not only were the works consumed by the fire, but it chanced that on that day a more furious wind stirred up the sea from its very depths and dashed it against the causeway, and the joints of the structure, lashed by surge after surge, loosened, so that the sea, flowing in between the blocks, broke
7 right through the work. Therefore, when the heaps of stones which supported the earth that had been heaped upon them were demolished, the whole structure sank headlong into the deep, and Alexander, on returning from Arabia, found hardly any traces of so great a causeway.[b]

Thereupon, as usually happens in disasters, they all put the blame on one another, although all might more reasonably have found fault with the fury of
8 the sea. The king, on beginning to build a new causeway, made its front (instead of its side) face directly into the unfavourable wind. Thus the front

fronte direxit; ea cetera opera velut sub ipsa latentia tuebatur: latitudinem quoque aggeri adiecit, ut turres in medio excitatae procul teli iactu[1] abessent.

9 Totas autem arbores cum ingentibus ramis in altum iaciebant, deinde saxis onerabant rursusque cumulo eorum alias arbores iniciebant, tum humus aggerebatur; superque alia atque alia[2] strue saxorum arborumque cumulata velut quodam nexu continens opus iunxerant. Nec Tyrii quidquid ad impediendam molem excogitari poterat segniter exsequebantur.

10 Praecipuum auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant aquam[3] occultoque lapsu ad molem usque penetrabant, falcibus palmites arborum eminentium ad se trahentes. Quae ubi secutae erant, pleraque secum in profundum dabant; tum levatos onere stipites truncosque arborum haud aegre moliebantur, deinde totum opus quod stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso, sequebatur.

11 Aegro animi Alexandro nec perseveraret an abiret satis certo, classis Cypro advenit eodemque tempore Cleander cum Graecis militibus in Asiam nuper ad-

[1] iactu *I;* ictu *A* (hictu *V*).
[2] superque alia atque alia *Warmington;* superque alia *A*.
[3] aquam *Lauer;* aqua *A*.

[a] That is, Alexander built a new mole heading straight into the wind, so that only the advancing "front," or end, met the full blast.

[b] This description is hard to follow; *palmites*, which means "the *ends* of the branches" which projected between the joints of the stones, is the key-word. By pulling at these the divers

protected the rest of the works, which were hidden, as it were, behind it [a]; he also made the causeway wider, in order that the towers erected on the middle
9 of it might be far out of range of a weapon. Furthermore, they threw whole trees with their great branches into the deep, then loaded them with rocks, again threw other trees upon the pile of rocks, and finally heaped on earth; besides this, by piling up successive masses of rocks and trees they had joined together a continuous causeway, as if by a kind of bond. Nor were the Tyrians inactive in carrying out whatever could be devised to hamper the building of the
10 causeway. A special help in this effort were those who plunged into the sea far out of sight of the enemy, and by gliding under water made their way as far as the causeway, and with hooks pulled towards them the projecting ends of the branches [b] of the trees; and when the trees also were dragged away, they carried with them many parts of the structure into deep water. Then the divers without difficulty heaved away at the logs and tree-trunks, thus deprived of their weight, until finally the entire part of the work which was supported by the tree-trunks, since its foundation was gone, followed and collapsed.
11 Just when Alexander was feeling discouraged, and was not quite certain whether to continue the siege or to withdraw, a fleet arrived from Cyprus, and at the same time Cleander [c] came with the Greek soldiers which had recently been transported to Asia. These

dragged out the trees (the antecedent of *quae* is *arborum*), which carried with them much of the earth and stones with which they were covered (*pleraque*). After this, it was easy to dislodge the remaining rocks and trees.

[c] See iii. 1. 1.

vectis. c et xx[1] navigia[2] in duo dividit cornua; laevum Pnytagoras,[3] rex Cypriorum, cum Cratero tuebatur, Alexandrum in dextro quinqueremis regia vehebat.
12 Nec Tyrii, quamquam classem habebant, ausi navale inire certamen; tris omnino ante ipsa moenia opposuerunt, quibus rex invectus ipse eas[4] demersit.
13 Postera die classe ad moenia admota, undique tormentis et maxime arietum pulsu muros quatit; quos Tyrii raptim obstructis saxis refecerunt, interiorem quoque murum, ut, si prior fefellisset, illo se tueren-
14 tur, munire[5] orsi. Sed undique vis mali urguebat: moles[6] intra teli iactum erant, classis moenia circumibat, terrestri simul navalique clade obruebantur. Quippe binas quadriremes Macedones inter se ita iunxerant, ut prorae cohaererent, puppes intervallo
15 quantum capere poterant distarent; hoc puppium intervallum antemnis asseribusque validis deligatis[7] superque eos pontibus stratis, qui militem sustinerent, impleverant. Sic instructas quadriremes ad urbem agebant; inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tuto, quia proris miles tegebatur.
16 Media nox erat, cum classem sic, uti dictum est,

[1] xx *Warmington* (*cf. Arr. ii. 20. 3*); xc *A.*
[2] navigia *N. Heinse;* nauigium *A.*
[3] Pnytagoras *Modius;* Pythagoras *A.*
[4] ipse eas *Hedicke;* ipsas *A* (ipsa *V*); ictu ipse *Vogel.*
[5] munire *Eberhard;* undi *P;* undique *C.*
[6] moles *Hedicke;* molem *A.*
[7] deligatis *I;* delegatis *A.*

[a] With the help of Arrian (ii. 20. 1-3), the size of the whole fleet can be estimated. The ships from Cyprus numbered about 120 sail; there were about eighty Phoenician ships, ten from Rhodes, and ten from Soli and Lycia.
[b] From Macedonia, Arr. ii. 20. 2. It is doubtful whether the number represents banks of oars.

120 ships [a] Alexander divided into two wings ; of the left Pnytagoras, king of the Cypriotes, and Craterus had command, on the right the royal five-banker [b]
12 carried Alexander. The Tyrians, although they had a fleet, did not dare to risk a sea-fight ; to oppose the enemy, they placed in position only three ships, directly before the walls, and these the king himself rammed and sank.
13 On the following day, Alexander, bringing his fleet up to the city's defences, shattered the walls on every side with artillery, and in particular by the battering of rams. The Tyrians hastily repaired the breaches by blocking them with rocks, and began also to build an inner wall, in order to protect themselves with this,
14 if the first wall failed them. But the power of misfortune was pressing them on every side; the causeway was advanced within spear-range of the walls, which were also surrounded by the fleet; they were being overwhelmed by disaster on sea and on land. For the Macedonians had joined four-bankers together in pairs, in such a way that while their prows were united, the sterns were as far apart as it was
15 possible to have them [c] ; this space between the sterns they had filled with yards of ships and strong beams bound together, and upon them had built platforms, as a standing-place for soldiers. These four-bankers, thus equipped, they rowed up to the city ; from them missiles were showered upon the defenders with safety, since the soldiers were protected by the prows.[d]
16 It was in the middle of the night when Alexander

[c] That is, for their purpose.
[d] These were higher than the rest of the ships.

paratam circumire muros iubet. Iamque naves[1] urbi undique admovebantur, et Tyrii desperatione torpebant, cum subito spissae nubes intendere se caelo et quidquid lucis internitebat offusa[2] caligine extinctum
17 est. Tum inhorrescens mare paulatim levari, deinde acriore vento concitatum fluctus ciere et inter se navigia collidere. Iamque scindi coeperunt vincula quibus conexae quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata et cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites tra-
18 here. Neque enim conserta navigia ulla ope in turbido regi poterant; miles ministeria nautarum, remex militis officia turbabat, et, quod in eiusmodi casu[3] accidit, periti ignaris parebant. Quippe gubernatores alias imperare soliti tum metu mortis iussa exsequebantur. Tandem remis pertinacius everberatum mare veluti eripientibus navigia classicis cessit, appulsaque sunt litori lacerata pleraque.

19 Eisdem forte diebus Carthaginiensium legati xxx superveniunt, magis obsessis solacium quam auxilium. Quippe domestico bello Poenos impediri nec de im-
20 perio, sed pro salute dimicare nuntiabant. Syracusani tum Africam urebant et haud procul Carthaginis muris locaverant castra. Non tamen defecere animis Tyrii, quamquam ab ingenti spe destituti erant, sed

[1] navis *C*. [2] offusa *Gronov;* effusa *A*.
[3] casu] causa *B*.

[a] That is, there was a sea-fog in addition to the clouds.
[b] *In turbido* ,*cf*. Livy iii. 40. 10 ; *in tranquillis vel turbidis rebus*, Amm. xiv. 4. 3.
[c] Curtius is wrong in his chronology. The Syracusans did not wage war in Africa until the time of Agathocles, twenty-two years later, when they came within five miles of Carthage ; Justin xxii. 6.

gave orders for the fleet, prepared as described, to encircle the walls. And already the ships were moving towards the city from every side, and the Tyrians were paralysed with despair, when suddenly thick clouds spread over the heavens, and whatever light penetrated them was shut out by a widespread
17 mist.[a] Then a rough sea began to rise by degrees, and soon, urged on by a more violent wind, stirred up billows, and the craft dashed against one another. And already the bonds by which the four-bankers were fastened together began to be torn apart, the platforms to break up and with a mighty roar to
18 drag the soldiers with them into the deep. For the ships, when joined together, could not in any way be managed in such a time of disorder[b]; the soldiers disturbed the work of the sailors, the oarsmen the duties of the soldiers, and, as usually happens in such a crisis, the skilful obeyed the ignorant. For the helmsmen, who at other times were wont to take command, then through fear of death did what they were ordered. At last the sea, lashed with greater vigour by the oars, yielded to the sailors, who were rescuing the ships as if by main force, and the vessels were brought to the shore, for the most part badly damaged.

19 It chanced that in those same days thirty Carthaginian envoys arrived, rather a consolation to the besieged than a help. For they announced that the Carthaginians were involved in a war at home and were fighting, not for dominion, but for their lives.
20 At that time the Syracusans[c] were devastating Africa and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. Nevertheless the Tyrians did not lose courage, in spite of being abandoned by this great

coniuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt, fortius quidquid accideret laturi, si carissimam sui partem extra sortem communis periculi habuis-
21 sent. Cumque unus e civibus in contione indicasset, oblatam esse per somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem eximia religione colerent, urbem deserentis molemque a Macedonibus in salo iactam in silvestrem
22 saltum esse mutatam, quamquam auctor levis erat, tamen ad deteriora credenda proni metu aurea catena devinxere simulacrum araeque Herculis, cuius numini urbem dicaverant, inseruere vinculum quasi illo deo Apollinem retenturo. Syracusis id simulacrum devexerant Poeni et in maiore locaverant patria multisque aliis spoliis urbium a semet captarum non Carthaginem magis quam Tyrum ornaverant.

23 Sacrum quoque, quod equidem dis minime cordi esse crediderim, multis saeculis intermissum repetendi[1] auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur—quod sacrilegium verius quam sacrum Carthaginienses a conditoribus traditum usque ad excidium urbis suae fecisse dicuntur—, ac nisi seniores obstitissent, quorum consilio cuncta ageban-
24 tur, humanitatem dira superstitio vicisset. Ceterum efficacior omni[2] arte necessitas non usitata modo prae-

[1] repetendi *Giunta;* repentes *PF m. pr.;* repetentas *C;* repetens *B m. pr.*

[2] efficacior omni *I;* efficatior omni (-or omni *in ras.*) *BF;* efficacio omni *V;* efficacio romani *LP m. pr.*

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[a] That is, probably, Baal or the Sun God.

[b] Diod. xvii. 41. 8 says that Apollo told the man that he was deserting the city, which is implied by Curtius.

[c] Curtius is mistaken ; the Carthaginians never plundered Syracuse. Diod. xiii. 108. 3 f. mentions a statue of Apollo which they carried off from the suburbs of Gela in 405 B.C.

[d] *i.e.* Moloch.

hope, but entrusted to the envoys their wives and children to be taken to Carthage, being ready to bear more bravely whatever might befall them if they could keep their dearest treasures without share in
21 the common peril. And when one of their citizens declared in a public assembly that a vision of Apollo,[a] whom they worshipped with special veneration, had appeared to him in his sleep as deserting the city, and that the causeway which the Macedonians had constructed in the sea had changed into a forest tract,
22 although the author of the tale was a man of slight importance, yet, inclined through fear to believe the worst, they bound the statue of Apollo with a chain of gold to its base, and attached the chain to the altar of Hercules, to whose divine power they had dedicated their city, supposing that that god would hold Apollo back.[b] The Carthaginians had carried off that statue from Syracuse [c] and had placed it in their ancestral fatherland, and with many other spoils of the cities which they had captured they had adorned Tyre rather than Carthage.

23 Some even proposed renewing a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many years, and which I for my part should believe to be by no means pleasing to the gods, of offering a freeborn boy to Saturn [d]—this sacrilege rather than sacrifice, handed down from their founders, the Carthaginians are said to have performed until the destruction of their city [e]—and unless the elders, in accordance with whose counsel everything was done, had opposed it, the awful
24 superstition would have prevailed over mercy. But necessity, more inventive than any art, introduced not

[e] It was continued in Roman Carthage in spite of the opposition of the Romans.

sidia, sed quaedam etiam nova admovit. Namque ad implicanda navigia quae muros subibant, validos asseres funibus[1] illigaverant, ut, cum tormento asseres
25 promovissent, subito laxatis funibus inicerent. Unci quoque et falces ex eisdem asseribus dependentes aut propugnatores aut ipsa navigia lacerabant. Clipeos vero aereos multo igne torrebant, quos repletos fervida harena caenoque decocto e muris subito devolve-
26 bant. Nec ulla pestis magis timebatur; quippe ubi inter[2] loricam corpusque fervens harena penetraverat, nec ulla vi excuti poterat et quidquid attigerat perurebat, iacientesque arma laceratis omnibus quis protegi poterant vulneribus inulti patebant. Corvi vero et ferreae manus tormento remissae plerosque rapiebant.

IV. Hic rex fatigatus statuerat soluta obsidione Aegyptum petere. Quippe cum Asiam ingenti
2. velocitate percucurrisset, circa muros unius urbis haerebat tot maximarum rerum opportunitate dimissa. Ceterum tam discedere irritum quam morari pudebat, famam quoque, qua plura quam armis everterat, ratus leviorem fore, si Tyrum quasi testem se posse vinci reliquisset. Igitur ne quid inexpertum

[1] validos asseres funibus *Jeep;* validis asseribus *A.*
[2] inter *added by N. Heinse.*

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[a] *Implicanda* applies to the *corvi* and *ferreae manus* (see next note) of § 26, better than to *asseres.*

[b] *Corvi et ferreae manus* in this connexion refer to grappling-irons by which the ships were sometimes lifted and let drop. *Corvi* is a word used in this sense and also in others; see note on *harpagones*, iv. 2. 12.

[c] *Fatigatus* refers, not to bodily, but to mental weariness, due to the tediousness of the siege,

only the usual means of defence, but also some novel ones. For in order to throw into a tangle [a] the ships which came up close under the walls, they had bound stout beams to ropes, so that when they had thrown forward these beams with a hurling-engine, they might suddenly slacken the ropes and drop the
25 beams upon the ships. Hooks also and scythes hanging from those same beams lacerated either the attackers or the ships themselves. Moreover, the Tyrians heated brazen shields in a great fire, and after filling them with hot sand and boiling filth hurled
26 them down from the walls. And no plague was more feared than this; for when the burning-hot sand had made its way between the coat-of-mail and the body, it could not be shaken out by any effort and burned through whatever it had touched; and the soldiers, throwing away their arms and tearing to bits everything by which they could be protected, were exposed to wounds without being able to retaliate. Besides this, ravens and iron claws,[b] released by hurling-engines, carried off many.

IV. At this point Alexander from utter weariness [c] had determined to raise the siege and go to Egypt. For after he had overrun Asia with great speed he was lingering around the walls of a single city, thus losing
2 the opportunity for so many mighty exploits. But he was as much ashamed to withdraw baffled, as to delay, thinking that his reputation also, by which he had overthrown more than by his arms,[d] would be impaired if he should leave Tyre as a witness that he could be defeated. Therefore, in order to leave nothing untried, he ordered more ships to be brought

[d] *Cf.* iii. 8. 7 *fama bella stare*; Livy xxvii. 45. 5 *famam bellum conficere.*

omitteret, plures naves admoveri iubet delectosque
3 militum imponi. Et forte belua invisitatae[1] magnitudinis, super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens, ad molem quam Macedones iecerant ingens corpus applicuit, diverberatisque fluctibus allevans semet, utrimque
4 conspecta est ; deinde a capite molis rursus alto se immersit ac modo super undas eminens magna sui parte, modo superfusis fluctibus condita, haud procul
5 munimentis urbis se mersit.[2] Utrisque laetus fuit beluae aspectus ; Macedones iter iaciendo operi monstrasse eam augurabantur, Tyrii Neptunum, occupati maris vindicem, applicuisse[3] beluam ad[4] molem, brevi profecto ruituram. Laetique omine eo ad epulas dilapsi oneravere se vino, quo graves orto sole navigia conscendunt redimita floribus coronisque ; adeo victoriae non omen modo, sed etiam gratulationem praeceperant.
6 Forte rex classem in diversam partem agi iusserat, xxx minoribus navigiis relictis in litore ; e quibus Tyrii duobus captis cetera ingenti terruerunt metu, donec suorum clamore audito Alexander classem
7 litori a quo fremitus acciderant admovit. Prima e Macedonum navibus quinqueremis velocitate inter ceteras eminens occurrit ; quam ut conspexere

[1] invisitatae *Bentley;* inusitatae *A.*
[2] se mersit *Grunauer;* emersit *A.*
[3] applicuisse *suggested by Mützell ;* abripuisse *A.*
[4] ad *A;* ac *I.*

[a] *Capite* is not the end of the causeway, but its highest part, to which the monster had come when it lifted itself see iv. 2. 23, note.

[b] The sense of *abripuisse* is not clear; *applicuisse* seems preferable. At any rate, the Tyrians drew their interpretation from the attack of the monster on the causeway.

up and the best of his soldiers to be embarked upon
3 them. And it chanced that a sea-monster, of a size never before seen, rising even above the waves with its back, brought its huge body up to the causeway which the Macedonians had built, and striking the surges asunder as it lifted itself, was seen by both
4 sides. Then from the peak of the causeway [a] it again plunged under the sea, and now rising above the surface with a great part of its bulk, now hidden as the waves dashed over it, it disappeared under water not
5 far from the walls of the city. The appearance of the monster gave joy to both sides; the Macedonians interpreted it as showing the direction in which to go on building up the work; the Tyrians thought that Neptune, as an avenger of the usurped sea, had brought the monster against the causeway,[b] and that it would surely soon fall in ruins. Rejoicing in the omen, the Tyrians turned aside to feasting and loaded themselves with wine, and still under its influence at sunrise, they embarked upon ships wreathed with flowers and garlands; so over-hasty were they to perceive, not only an omen of victory, but even an occasion for celebrating one.

6 As it happened, the king had ordered his fleet to be brought to the opposite side of the harbour,[c] leaving thirty of the smaller ships at the shore; of these the Tyrians captured two and greatly terrified the rest, until Alexander, hearing the shouts of his men, moved his fleet to the part of the shore from which
7 the uproar had come. The first of the Macedonians ships to reach the spot was a five-banker, conspicuous among the rest for speed; when the Tyrian ships

[c] The side towards Sidon, as opposed to the side fronting Egypt; see Arr. ii. 20. 10.

Tyriae, duae ex diverso in latera eius invectae sunt, in quarum alteram quinqueremis eadem concitata et
8 ipsa rostro icta est et illam invicem tenuit. Iamque ea, quae non cohaerebat, libero impetu est vecta[1] in aliud quinqueremis latus. Invehebatur tum[2] opportunitate mira triremis e classe Alexandri in eam ipsam quae quinqueremi imminebat, tanta vi ut Tyrius gubernator in mare excuteretur e puppi.
9 Plures deinde Macedonum naves superveniunt, et rex quoque aderat, cum Tyrii inhibentes remis aegre evellere navem quae haerebat, portumque omnia simul navigia repetunt. Confestim rex insecutus portum quidem intrare non potuit, cum procul e muris missilibus summoveretur, naves autem omnes fere aut demersit aut cepit.
10 Biduo deinde ad quietem dato militibus iussisque et classem et machinas pariter admovere, ut undique territis instaret, ipse in altissimam turrem ascendit ingenti animo, periculo maiore ; quippe regio insigni
11 et armis fulgentibus conspicuus, unus praecipue telis petebatur. Et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit ; multos e muris propugnantes hasta transfixit, quosdam etiam comminus gladio clipeoque impulsos praecipi-

[1] est vecta *Hedicke;* euecta *P;* inuecta *LBF* (*in margine manu corr.* ë *vel* **e)*;* launecta *V.*
[2] tum *Hedicke;* cum *A.*

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[a] For this meaning of *aliud* see iii. 9. 6. It was the same side that had been already rammed.
[b] Thirteen Tyrian ships took part in the attack (Arr. ii. 21. 9) : on the result of the attack see Arr. ii. 22. 5.
[c] Those on the causeway. Curtius does not mention its completion ; *cf.* Arr. ii. 21. 2 τὸ ποιητὸν χῶμα.
[d] *Territis* seems to be proleptic.
[e] As often, Curtius somewhat exaggerates Alexander's

caught sight of it, two of them charged its sides from opposite directions, against one of which the five-banker rushed, and was itself rammed by the beak
8 of the other and in turn held it fast. And then the other Tyrian ship, which was not held fast, made a free attack on the rest of the side [a] of the five-banker. Then with wonderful timeliness a three-banker of Alexander's fleet charged upon the very ship which was threatening the five-banker, with such force that the Tyrian steersman was hurled from the stern into
9 the sea. Then more Macedonian ships came up, and the king also was close at hand, when the Tyrians backed water and with difficulty tore away the ship which was entangled, and all their vessels together made for the port. Immediately Alexander pursued them; he was unable to enter the harbour, since he was thrust far from the walls by missiles, but he captured or sank nearly all [b] the ships.

10 Then two days were given to the soldiers for rest, and they were ordered to bring up both the fleet and at the same time the machines,[c] in order that Alexander might terrify [d] the enemy by an attack on all sides; he himself mounted a very lofty tower, with great courage and still greater danger; for being conspicuous for his royal garb and gleaming arms, he more than any other was a special target for missiles.[e]
11 And his exploits were well worth beholding [f]; many defenders on the ramparts he ran through with his spear, some he attacked hand to hand with sword and shield, and hurled them headlong from the parapets.

personal prowess; *cf.* Arr. ii. 23. 4-6; but also Diod. xvii. 46. 2.

[f] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 46. 2 *ἐτόλμησεν πρᾶξιν ἐπιτελέσασθαι οὐδ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁρῶσι πιστευομένην.*

tavit. Quippe turris ex qua dimicabat muris hostium propemodum cohaerebat.

12 Iamque crebris arietibus saxorum compage laxata munimenta defecerant et classis intraverat portum et quidam Macedonum in turres hostium desertas evaserant, cum Tyrii, tot simul malis victi, alii supplices in templa confugiunt, alii foribus aedium obseratis occupant liberum mortis arbitrium[a], nonnulli 13 ruunt in hostem haud inulti tamen perituri; magna pars summa tectorum obtinebat, saxa et quidquid[1] fors in manus dederat ingerentes subeuntibus. Alexander, exceptis qui in templa confugerant, omnes 14 interfici ignemque tectis inici iubet. His per praecones pronuntiatis, nemo tamen armatus opem a dis petere sustinuit; pueri virginesque templa compleverant, viri in vestibulo suarum quisque aedium stabant, parata saevientibus turba.

15 Multis tamen saluti fuere Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum praesidia erant. Hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant, sed cognationis cum Tyriis memores —quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse credebant—multos Tyriorum clam[2] protegentes, ad sua perduxere navigia; quibus occultati[3] Sidona devecti 16 sunt. xv milia hoc furto subducta saevitiae sunt. Quantumque sanguinis fusum sit vel ex hoc aestimari potest, quod intra munimenta urbis vi milia arma-

[1] quidquid *I;* quid *A.* [2] clam *Bentley;* etiam *A.* [3] occultati *inferior* MSS.*;* occultatis.

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[a] *Cf.* Suet. *Domit.* viii. 4; xi. 3 *liberum mortis arbitrium.*

[b] Curtius does not mention the stand of the Tyrians at the Shrine of Agenor, and the contest there; Arr. ii. 24. 2.

[c] This act of the Sidonians is not elsewhere mentioned.

For the tower from which he was fighting was almost joined to the enemies' walls.

12 And now, after the blows of many rams had loosened the structure of the stones, the fortifications had begun to give way, and the fleet had entered the port, and some of the Macedonians had made their way into the towers deserted by the enemy, then of the Tyrians, overcome by so many evils at once, some took refuge as suppliants in the temples, others bolted the doors of their houses and anticipated the enemy by a death of their free choice,[a] still others rushed upon the foe to die, but yet not unavenged;
13 a great part manned the roofs of their houses and showered stones and whatever chance had put into their hands upon the Macedonians as they came up.[b] Alexander gave orders that all except those who had taken refuge in the temples should be slain and the
14 houses set on fire. Although this order was proclaimed by heralds, yet not a single armed man could bring himself to seek aid from the gods; boys and maidens had filled the temples, the men stood each in the vestibule of his own house, a throng at the mercy of the raging foe.

15 To many, however, the Sidonians, who formed a part of the Macedonian forces, were a means of safety. These, it is true, had entered the city among the victors, but mindful of their kinship with the Tyrians—for they believed that Agenor founded both cities—they secretly protected many of the Tyrians and took them to their ships, in which they were
16 hidden and conveyed to Sidon. By this deception 15,000 were saved from the victor's cruelty.[c] But how great the bloodshed was may be calculated from this alone, that 6000 armed men were butchered within

torum trucidata sunt. Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira praebuit regis; II milia, in quibus occidendis defecerat rabies, crucibus affixi per ingens litoris spatium pependerunt. Carthaginiensium legatis pepercit addita denuntiatione belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur.

Tyros septimo mense quam oppugnari coepta erat capta est, urbs et vetustate originis et crebra fortunae varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Condita ab Agenore, diu mare non vicinum modo, sed quodcumque classes eius adierunt, dicionis suae fecit. Et, si famae libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit aut didicit. Coloniae certe eius paene orbe toto diffusae sunt: Carthago in Africa, in Boeotia Thebae, Gades[1] ad Oceanum. Credo libero commeantes mari saepiusque adeundo ceteris incognitas terras elegisse sedes iuventuti, qua tunc abundabant,[2] sive quia crebris motibus terrae—nam hoc quoque traditur—cultores eius fatigati, nova et externa domicilia armis sibimet quaerere cogebantur. Multis ergo casibus defuncta et post excidium renata nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refovente sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis acquiescit.

V. Isdem ferme diebus Darei litterae allatae sunt tandem[3] ut regi scriptae. Petebat uti filiam suam—Statirae erat[4] nomen—nuptiis Alexander sibi adiun-

[1] Gades *Vindelinus;* gadis *A.*
[2] abundabant *Zarotus;* abundabat *A.*
[3] tandem *Bongars;* tamen *A.*
[4] Statirae erat *Modius;* stati praeerat *A.*

[a] *Cf.* Amm. xv. 5. 20.
[b] Strabo xvi. 757 (p. 1098); Justin xviii. 3-4.
[c] Tyre was besieged for eighteen months in the time of Antigonus; Diod. xix. 61. 5-6. It never recovered its former power, but was an important commercial city.

17 the city's ramparts. After that the king's wrath furnished the victors with an awful spectacle ; 2000 men, for the slaying of whom frenzy had spent itself, hung nailed to crosses along a great stretch of the
18 shore. He spared the Carthaginian envoys, but added a declaration of war, although the war was delayed by the urgency of present affairs.[a]
19 Tyre was taken in the seventh month after the beginning of the siege, a city worthy of note in the memory of later times both for its ancient origin and its frequent changes of fortune. Founded by Agenor, it long held under its sway, not only the neighbouring part of the sea, but whatever portion of it its fleets could reach. Also, if one wishes to believe report, this people was the first either to teach, or to learn, the art of writing. At any rate, its colonies were distributed over almost the whole world ; Carthage in Africa, Thebes in Boeotia, Gades on the
20 Ocean. I suppose that, as they went to and fro on the free sea, and often visiting lands unknown to other peoples, they selected homes for their young men, of whom they then had an over-abundant supply ; or it may be that the Tyrians, exhausted by frequent earthquakes—for this also is reported[b]—were forced to seek new homes for themselves in
21 foreign lands by arms. Having therefore suffered many disasters and having risen again from their ruins, now at last wholly restored by long-continued peace, they are at rest under the protection of Roman clemency.[c]

V. At about that same time a letter of Darius was brought, at last written as to a king. He asked that Alexander should take to wife his daughter—her name was Statira ; that her dowry would be the

geret; dotem fore omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnem sitam, inde orientem spectanti-
2 bus terris contentum se fore. Ne[1] dubitaret quod offerretur accipere; numquam diu eodem vestigio stare Fortunam, semperque homines, quantamcumque felicitatem habeant, invidiam tamen sentire
3 maiorem. Vereri se, ne avium modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac puerili mente se efferret[2]; nihil difficilius esse quam in illa aetate
4 tantam capere fortunam. Multas se adhuc reliquias habere nec semper inter angustias posse deprehendi; transeundum esse Alexandro Euphraten Tigrimque et Araxen et Choaspen,[3] magna munimenta regni sui, veniendum in campos, ubi paucitate suorum erubescendum sit, in Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra;
5 et Indos, Oceani accolas, quando aditurum, ne Sogdianos et Arachosios nominem ceterasque gentes ad Caucasum et Tanain pertinentes? Senescendum
6 fore tantum terrarum vel sine proelio obeunti. Se vero ad ipsum vocare desineret; namque illius exitio se esse[4] venturum.
7 Alexander eis qui litteras attulerant respondit

[1] se fore. Ne *Hedicke;* si forte *A.*
[2] mente se efferret *Bentley;* mentis afferret *A.*
[3] Choaspen *Cellarius;* idaspen *A.* [4] ** esse *P.*

[a] The Kizil Irmak; *cf.* Arr. ii. 25. 1, who says between the Euphrates and the Greek sea.

[b] The envy or jealousy of the gods to which excessive good fortune was exposed is a common idea in Curtius, as well as in antiquity in general; *cf.* vi. 2. 19, and without *deum*, as here, ix. 2. 29.

[c] In spite of the conciliatory tone of the letter as a whole, Darius cannot refrain from tactless and offensive expressions. These are more numerous in the version of the letter in Jul. Valerius, *Res Gest. Alex. Mac.* i. 42.

entire region lying between the Hellespont and the Halys River,[a] and that Darius would be content with
2 the lands extending eastward from that river. Darius reminded him that he ought not to hesitate to accept the offer; that Fortune never stands long on the same spot, and that men, however great success they may enjoy, are nevertheless exposed to greater envy.[b]
3 That he feared lest Alexander, like the birds, whose natural lightness drives them on towards the stars, might be carried away by a vain and childish [c] spirit; that nothing was more difficult at his time of life than
4 to be able to prove equal to so great a fortune. That Darius still had many lands left, and could not always be caught amid narrow defiles; Alexander had the Euphrates and Tigris to cross, the Araxes [d] and Choaspes, mighty defences of the Persian empire, and must come into open plains, where he would have to blush for the small number of his forces, to Media,
5 Hyrcania, Bactra; and when would he reach the Indi, neighbours of the Ocean,[e] not to mention the Sogdiani and the Arachosii, and the rest of the nations extending to the Caucasus and the Tanais?[f] He must grow old [g] merely in traversing such an expanse of lands, even if he could do so without fighting.
6 Further, Alexander should cease to summon him to come to him; for he would come of his own accord, to his enemy's destruction.
7 Alexander replied to those who had brought the

[a] Modern Bund-Amir.

[c] The "northern" and "eastern" Oceans were supposed to be not far north and immediately east of India respectively.

[f] The Hindu Kush and the Iaxartes=Syr Darya, confused by Curtius or his source with the Caucasus and the Don.

[g] For the hyperbole *cf.* ix. 2. 10.

Dareum sibi aliena promittere et quod totum amiserit velle partiri. Doti sibi dari Lydiam, Ionas, Aeolidem, Hellesponti oram, victoriae suae praemia. Leges autem a victoribus dici, accipi a victis ; in utro statu ambo essent si solus ignoraret, quam primum Marte
8 decerneret. Seque,[1] cum transiret mare, non Ciliciam aut Lydiam—quippe tanti belli exiguam hanc esse mercedem—, sed Persepolim, caput regni eius, Bactra deinde et Ecbatana ultimique Orientis oram imperio destinasse. Quocumque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi posse ; desineret terrere fluminibus quem sciret maria transisse.

9 Reges quidem haec invicem scripserant. Sed Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexandro. Ille Ciliciam Socrati tradiderat, Philota[2] regioni circa Tyrum iusso praesidere. Syriam quae Coele appellatur Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat, bello[3] quod
10 supererat interfuturus.[4] Rex, Hephaestione Phoenices oram classe praetervehi iusso, ad urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis venit.

11 Eisdem fere diebus sollemne erat ludicrum Isthmiorum, quod conventu totius Graeciae celebratur ; in eo concilio Graeci, ut sunt temporaria ingenia,

[1] Seque *Hedicke;* se quoque *A.*
[2] Philota *Vindelinus;* filiatae *A.*
[3] bello *Modius;* ab illo *A.*
[4] interfuturus *Modius;* iter facturus *A.*

[a] The letters had been communicated in writing, not orally, as might be inferred ; *cf.* iv. 5. 7.
[b] They had sent triremes to Tyre, to aid Alexander ; *cf.* Arr. ii. 20. 2.

letter that Darius was promising him what was not his own, and wished to give him a share of what he had wholly lost. As a dowry were offered him Lydia, the Ionians, Aeolis, the coast of the Hellespont, the prizes of his own victory! Moreover, conditions were imposed by victors, accepted by the vanquished. If Darius alone did not know in what relation they both stood, let him settle the question as soon as possible
8 on the field of battle. Also let him know that Alexander, when he crossed the sea, had not aimed at the rule of Cilicia or Lydia—for that would be a slight reward for so great a war—but of Persepolis, the capital of Darius' kingdom, then of Bactra and Ecbatana, and the lands of the remotest Orient. Whithersoever Darius should have been able to flee, he could follow; let him cease to try to frighten with rivers one whom he knew to have crossed seas.

9 The kings indeed had exchanged these letters.[a] But the Rhodians [b] were surrendering their city and ports [c] to Alexander. He had entrusted Cilicia to Socrates and ordered Philotas to govern the region about Tyre. The part of Syria which is called Coelê [d] had been handed over to Andromachus by Parmenion, who was destined to share largely in what remained
10 of the war. Alexander, after ordering Hephaestion to coast along the shore of Phoenicia with the fleet, came with all his forces to the city of Gaza.

11 At about that same time was the regular festival of the Isthmians, which was celebrated by an assemblage of all Greece [e]; at that meeting the Greeks, being by

[c] The Rhodians had two harbours, a greater and a smaller one; *cf.* Diod. xx. 85. 4; xx. 86. 1; Strabo xiv. 5 (652).

[d] See note on iv. 1. 4.

[e] At the Isthmus of Corinth; *cf.* Livy xxxiii. 32. 1.

decernunt ut xv legarentur ad regem, qui ob res pro salute ac libertate Graeciae gestas coronam auream
12 donum victoriae ferrent. Eidem paulo ante incertae famae captaverant auram, ut, quocumque pendentes animos tulisset Fortuna,[1] sequerentur.
13 Ceterum non ipse modo rex obibat urbes adhuc iugum imperii recusantes, sed praetores quoque ipsius, egregii duces, pleraque invaserant, Calas Paphlagoniam, Antigonus Lycaoniam, Balacrus Hydarne, Darei praetore, superato, denuo[2] Miletum
14 cepit, Amphoterus et Hegelochus CLX navium classe insulas inter Achaiam atque Asiam in dicionem Alexandri redegerunt. Tenedo quoque recepta, Chium[3]
15 incolis ultro vocantibus statuerant occupare, sed Pharnabazus, Darei praetor, conprehensis qui res ad Macedones trahebant, rursus Apollonidi et Athenagorae, suarum partium viris, urbem cum modico
16 praesidio militum tradit. Praefecti Alexandri in obsidione urbis perseverabant non tam suis fisi[4] viribus, quam ipsorum qui obsidebantur voluntate. Nec fefellit opinio ; namque inter Apolloniden et duces militum orta seditio irrumpendi in urbem occasionem

[1] animos tulisset fortuna *J. M. Palmer;* animus tulisset fortunam *A*.
[2] denuo *Vogel;* II duos *C;* II duos *P*.
[3] Tenedo quoque recepta Chium *Gronov;* tenedon quoque receptaculum *A* (receptaculo *P m. pr.*).
[4] fisi *added by Vogel*.

[a] For this meaning of *temporaria cf.* Amm. xxi. 2. 11; Nepos, *Att.* xi. 3; and for a different form of expression Curt. v. 3. 4.
[b] *Cf.* Livy iii. 33. 7; Amm. xxxi. 2. 11.
[c] *Cf.* iii. 1. 24. With Calas it seems natural to supply *cepit*, although the order suggests *invaserat*.
[d] To which of several Macedonian leaders of this name

nature time-serving,[a] decided that fifteen envoys should be sent to the king, and, because of what he had done for the safety and freedom of Greece, should take him a golden crown in recognition of his victory.
12 These same Greeks a short time before had been listening for the breeze of uncertain report,[b] with the intention of following whithersoever Fortune should lead their wavering minds.
13 But not only was Alexander himself proceeding to reduce the cities which still rejected the yoke of his rule, but his generals also, distinguished leaders, had invaded many places: Calas[c] Paphlagonia, Antigonus Lycaonia; Balacrus,[d] having vanquished Hydarnes, Darius' satrap, had recovered Miletus;
14 Amphoterus and Hegelochus with a fleet of 160 ships had brought the islands between Achaia[e] and Asia under the sway of Alexander. After recovering Tenedos also, they had decided to take Chios at the
15 direct request of its citizens, but Pharnabazus, Darius' admiral, seized those who were trying to turn the rule over to the Macedonians and delivered the city again to Apollonides and Athenagoras, men of the Persian faction, with a force of soldiers of moderate size.
16 Alexander's generals persisted in the siege of the city, relying not so much on their own strength as on the inclination of the besieged. And they were not mistaken; for a disagreement which arose between Apollonides and the leaders of the soldiers gave an
17 opportunity for forcing their way into the city, and

reference is here made is uncertain; see L.C.L. *Arrian*, Index.

[e] Used in the Roman sense of "Greece," because of the prominence of the Achaean League in the second century, when Roman power spread over Greece.

17 dedit, cumque porta effracta cohors Macedonum intrasset, oppidani, olim consilio proditionis agitato, aggregant se Amphotero et Hegelocho, Persarumque praesidio caeso, Pharnabazus cum Apollonide et
18 Athenagora vincti traduntur, XII triremes cum suo milite ac remige, praeter eas XXX inanes et L[1] piratici lembi Graecorumque III milia a Persis mercede conducta. His in supplementum copiarum suarum distributis piratisque supplicio affectis, captivos remiges adiecere classi suae.

19 Forte Aristonicus, Methymnaeorum tyrannus, cum piraticis navibus, ignarus omnium quae apud Chium acta erant prima vigilia ad portus claustra successit interrogatusque a custodibus quis esset, Aristonicum
20 ad Pharnabazum venire respondit. Illi Pharnabazum quidem iam quiescere et non posse tum adiri, ceterum patere socio atque hospiti portum et postero[2] die
21 Pharnabazi copiam fore affirmant. Nec dubitavit Aristonicus primus intrare, secuti sunt ducem piratici lembi, at, dum applicant navigia crepidini portus, obicitur a vigilibus claustrum, et qui proximi excubabant ab eisdem excitantur. Nullo ex eis auso repugnare, omnibus catenae iniectae sunt, Amphotero
22 deinde Hegelochoque traduntur. Hinc Macedones

[1] L *added by Hedicke (ed. min.); Vogel suspected the omission of a numeral.*

[2] postero *P;* postera *C.*

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[a] ὁ δῆμος, Arr. iii. 2. 3.

[b] According to Arrian (iii. 2. 7), Pharnabazus eluded his guards in Cos and escaped.

[c] *Lembi* were light, swift boats, or small ships, used by fishermen and also by pirates, sometimes also as scouting-boats or fast cruisers; Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 56 (208) assigns their origin to the people of Cyrenê; *cf.* Gell. x. 25. 5.

after a gate had been broken down and a cohort of Macedonians had entered, the townsmen,[a] who had previously planned to betray the city, attached themselves to Amphoterus and Hegelochus, the Persian garrison was slain, and Pharnabazus[b] as well as Apollonides and Athenagoras were bound and sur-
18 rendered to the Macedonians, also twelve triremes with their soldiers and oarsmen, and besides these, thirty ships without crews, and fifty piratical boats[c] and 3000 Greeks serving as mercenaries with the Persians. These last were distributed as a reinforcement of the Macedonian forces, the pirates were put to death, and the captured oarsmen were enrolled in the fleet.

19 It chanced that Aristonicus, the despot of Methymnê,[d] with some pirate ships, being unaware of everything which had taken place at Chios, in the first watch came to the barriers of the port,[e] and on being asked by the guards who he was, replied that he was
20 Aristonicus coming to Pharnabazus. They declared that Pharnabazus was already sleeping and could not be approached, but that the port was open to an ally and friend of his, and that Aristonicus would have
21 access to him on the following day. Aristonicus did not hesitate to enter first and ten pirate vessels followed their leader; and while they were bringing the ships up to the quay of the port, the guards put the barrier in place and summoned those who were on watch near by. Since none of the pirates dared to resist, they were all put in chains; then they were
22 delivered to Amphoterus and Hegelochus. From

[a] In the island of Lesbos; *cf.* Arr. iii. 2. 4.
[e] *Cf.* Amm. xxvi. 8. 8.

transiere Mitylenen. Quam Chares[1] Atheniensis nuper occupatam II milium Persarum praesidio tenebat; sed, cum obsidionem tolerare non posset, urbe tradita, pactus ut incolumi abire liceret, Imbrum petit. Deditis Macedones pepercerunt.

VI. Dareus, desperata pace quam per litteras legatosque impetrari posse crediderat, ad reparandas vires bellumque impigre renovandum intendit ani-
2 mum. Duces ergo copiarum Babyloniam convenire, Bessum quoque, Bactrianorum praetorem, quam[2] maximo posset exercitu coacto, descendere ad se
3 iubet. Sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes promptissimi, horridis ingeniis multumque a Persarum luxu abhorrentibus; siti haud procul Scytharum, bellicosissima gente et rapto vivere assueta, semper in
4 armis erant. Sed Bessus, suspecta perfidia haud sane aequo animo in secundo se continens gradu, regem terrebat; nam cum regnum affectaret, proditio, qua sola id assequi poterat, timebatur.
5 Ceterum Alexander, quam regionem Dareus petisset omni cura vestigans, tamen explorare non poterat more quodam Persarum arcana regum mira celan-
6 tium fide; non metus, non spes elicit vocem qua prodantur occulta. Vetus disciplina regum silentium vitae periculo sanxerat; lingua gravius castigatur

[1] Chares *Vindelinus;* cares *A.*
[2] praetorem, quam *Gronov;* per quam *A.*

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[a] Literally "down," since the Bactriani were situated in the very high lands east of the plateau of Iran; *cf.* vii. 4. 30.
[b] *Cf.* v. 10. 3.
[c] For this meaning of *vestigare cf.* iv. 16. 14.
[d] *Cf.* Amm. xxi. 13. 4.

there the Macedonians crossed to Mitylenê. This city had lately been seized by Chares, the Athenian, who was holding it with a garrison of 2000 Persians; but since he could not withstand a siege, Chares surrendered the city after stipulating that he should be allowed to leave in safety, and went to Imbros. The Macedonians spared the surrendered.

VI. Darius, despairing of peace, which he had believed that he could obtain through letters and envoys, devoted his attention to recruiting his forces
2 and vigorously renewing the war. To this end he ordered the leaders of his troops to come together at Babylon, and Bessus also, governor of the Bactriani, to muster the largest army possible and come down [a]
3 to him. Now the Bactriani are the most valiant [b] among those nations, of rude dispositions and not at all inclined to the luxurious habits of the Persians; situated as they are not far from the Scythians, a nation fond of war and accustomed to live by plunder,
4 they were always in arms. But Bessus was a cause of alarm to Darius, who suspected him of treachery, because he could not with any patience be kept in a second rank; for since he aspired to royal power, treason, by which alone he could attain it, was feared.
5 Alexander, however, although trying to track [c] Darius with all care, could not find out for what region he had made, because of a custom of the Persians of keeping the secrets of their kings with
6 a marvellous fidelity [d]; not fear, not hope, can elicit a single word by which confidences are betrayed. The ancient discipline of the kings had enjoined silence on pain of death. An unbridled tongue [e] is more severely punished than any act of wickedness,

[c] For this meaning of *lingua cf.* vi. 9. 20; vii. 2. 37.

quam ullum probrum, nec magnam rem Magi[1] sustineri posse credunt ab eo cui tacere grave sit, quod
7 homini facillimum voluerit esse Natura. Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium quae apud hostem gererentur ignarus, urbem Gazam obsidebat.

Praeerat urbi Betis eximiae in regem suum fidei modicoque praesidio muros ingentis operis tuebatur.
8 Alexander, aestimato locorum situ, agi cuniculos iussit, facili ac levi humo acceptante occultum opus ; quippe multam harenam vicinum mare evomit,[2] nec saxa cotesque, quae interpellent specus, obstant.
9 Igitur ab ea parte quam oppidani conspicere non possent opus orsus, ut a sensu eius averteret, turres muris admoveri iubet. Sed eadem humus movendis inutilis turribus, desidente sabulo agilitatem rotarum morata, etiam[3] tabulata turrium perfringebat, multique vulnerabantur impune, cum idem recipiendis qui
10 admovendis turribus labor eos fatigaret. Ergo receptui signo dato, postero die muros corona circumdari iussit. Ortoque sole, priusquam admoveret exercitum, opem deum exposcens sacrum patrio more faciebat.

[1] Magi *Rutgers;* magis *A.*
[2] evomit *Giunta;* evomens *A.* [3] etiam *Hedicke;* et *A.*

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[a] See iii. 3. 10 ; Amm. xxiii. 6. 32-36.
[b] Arr. ii. 26. 1 is more explicit in describing the place.
[c] *Opus* refers to the digging of the mines ; to prevent the enemy from noticing this, Alexander made an attack upon the walls of the city. The account of Arrian (ii. 26. 2 ff.) is fuller and differs in some of the details. For *a sensu* cf. Florus i. 18. 28 *non sine sensu captivitatis.*
[d] That is, when the sand caved in, delaying the progress of

and the Magi[a] believe that no great cause can be upheld by one who finds it hard to keep silence, which Nature has decreed to be the easiest thing
7 for a man to do. For this reason Alexander, unaware of everything which was going on among the enemy, was besieging the city of Gaza.

The governor of the city was Betis, a man of exceptional loyalty to his king, and he was defending strongly fortified walls with a force of only moderate
8 size. Alexander, after examining the situation of the place,[b] ordered mines to be dug, since the soil, being light and easy to work, was suitable for underground operations ; for the neighbouring sea throws up a great amount of sand and there are neither stones
9 nor sharp rocks to hinder tunnelling. Accordingly he began the work at a place which was out of sight of the defenders, and to prevent their being aware of it,[c] he ordered towers to be moved against the walls. But the same ground was useless for moving towers, since the sinking[d] of the sand retarded the turning of the wheels and broke down the flooring of the towers, and many men were wounded without being able to retaliate, since the toil, which was the same in moving back the towers as in pushing them forward, wore
10 them out. Therefore the signal for retreat was sounded, and on the following day Alexander gave orders to surround the walls with a cordon of soldiers. And at sunrise, before leading forward the army, imploring the help of the gods, he performed a sacrifice in accordance with the usage of his country.

the wheels, and when the wheels on one side sank lower than those on the other, causing the towers to lean to one side and the floorings to give way ; see Livy xxxii. 17. 16 ; Veget. iv. 20.

11 Forte praetervolans corvus glebam quam unguibus ferebat subito amisit; quae cum regis capiti incidisset, resoluta defluxit, ipsa autem avis in proxima turre consedit. Illita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure,[1] in qua alis haerentibus, frustra se allevare
12 conatus a circumstantibus capitur. Digna res visa de qua vates consuleret; et erat non intactae a superstitione mentis. Ergo Aristander, cui maxima fides habebatur, urbis quidem excidium ait[2] augurio illo portendi, ceterum periculum esse ne rex vulnus acciperet. Itaque monuit ne quid eo die inciperet.
13 Ille quamquam unam urbem sibi, quo minus securus Aegyptum intraret, obstare aegre ferebat, tamen paruit vati signumque receptui dedit.

Hinc[3] animus crevit obsessis, egressique porta recedentibus inferunt signa, cunctationem hostium
14 suam fore occasionem rati. Sed acrius quam constantius proelium inierunt; quippe ut Macedonum signa circumagi videre, repente sistunt gradum. Iamque ad regem proeliantium clamor pervenerat, cum denuntiati periculi haud sane memor, loricam tamen, quam raro induebat, amicis orantibus sumpsit
15 et ad prima signa pervenit. Quo conspecto Arabs quidam, Darei miles, maius fortuna sua facinus ausus

[1] sulpura *FLP V.* [2] ait *added by Hedicke.*
[3] hinc *P;* hic *C.*

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[a] Arrian (ii. 26. 4) speaks of a carnivorous bird and a stone.

[b] This is difficult to understand, since bitumen and sulphur are inflammable. According to Plut. *Alex.* xxv. 3, the bird was caught in the ropes of a battering-engine, which seems more probable.

[c] The city was important also as a means of communication between Syria and Egypt.

11 It chanced that a raven as it flew by suddenly dropped a clod [a] which it was carrying in its talons; when this had fallen upon the king's head, it broke in pieces and flowed down upon him, and the bird itself perched upon the nearest tower. The tower had been smeared with bitumen and sulphur,[b] in which the bird's wings stuck fast, and after vainly trying to
12 fly away it was caught by the bystanders. The event seemed important enough to warrant consulting the soothsayers, and the king's mind was not unaffected by superstition. As a result, Aristander, in whom he had the greatest confidence, said that the destruction of the city was in fact foretold by that augury, but that there was danger that the king would suffer a wound; and so the seer warned him not to begin an
13 attack on that day. Alexander, although he was troubled that a single city stood in his way of entering Egypt care-free,[c] nevertheless yielded to the soothsayer and gave the signal for retreat.

By this step the courage of the besieged was increased, and sallying forth from a gate they made an attack on the retreating Macedonians, thinking that the hesitation of the enemy would be their
14 opportunity. But they entered battle with more impetuosity than firmness; for when they saw the standards of the Macedonians turned about, they suddenly checked their advance. And already the shouts of the combatants had reached the king's ears, when, wholly unmindful of the danger which had been foretold, he nevertheless, at the entreaties of his friends, put on his corselet, which he rarely wore, and
15 made his way to the van. On seeing him an Arab, a soldier of Darius, dared a deed greater than his fortune warranted; concealing a sword behind his

gladium clipeo tegens quasi transfuga genibus regis advolvitur. Ille assurgere supplicem recipique inter
16 suos iussit. At barbarus, gladio strenue in dextram translato, cervicem appetiit regis. Qui exigua corporis declinatione evitato ictu, in vanum manum barbari lapsam amputat gladio, denuntiato in illum diem periculo, ut arbitrabatur ipse, defunctus.
17 Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum ; quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat, sagitta ictus est, quam per loricam adactam, stantem in humero medi-
18 cus eius Philippus evellit. Plurimus deinde sanguis manare coepit omnibus territis, quia non quam alte penetrasset telum, lorica obstante cognoverant. Ipse, ne oris quidem colore mutato, supprimi sanguinem
19 et vulnus obligari iussit. Diu ante ipsa signa vel dissimulato vel victo dolore perstiterat, cum suppressus paulo ante sanguis, labente ligamento[1] quo retentus erat, manare largius[2] coepit, et vulnus, quod tepens[3] adhuc dolorem non moverat, frigente sanguine in-
20 tumuit. Linqui deinde animo et submitti genu coepit; quem proximi exceptum in castra receperunt. Et Betis, interfectum ratus, urbem ovans victoria repetit.
21 At Alexander, nondum percurato vulnere, aggerem quo moenium altitudinem aequaret, extruxit

[1] labente ligamento *Hedicke;* medicamento *A.*
[2] largius *N. Heinse;* longius *A.*
[3] tepens *Acidalius;* stupens *A.*

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[a] According to Arrian (ii. 27. 2), it was a shot from a catapult.

shield, he fell at the king's knees, pretending to be a deserter. Alexander bade the suppliant rise and be
16 received among his own men. But the barbarian, quickly shifting the sword to his right hand, aimed a stroke at the king's neck ; but he, avoiding the blow by a slight inclination of his body, with his sword severed the hand of the barbarian which had missed its mark, thus, as he thought, being quit of the danger with which he had been threatened for that day.

17 But in my opinion fate is inescapable ; for while he was fighting with too great daring among the foremost, he was struck by an arrow,[a] which was driven through his corselet and standing in his shoulder was
18 drawn out by his physician Philip. Then a great flow of blood began, to the terror of all because the cuirass prevented them from knowing to what depth the weapon had penetrated. Alexander himself, not even changing colour, gave orders that the blood be
19 stanched and the wound bound up. For a long time he kept his place before the very standards, either concealing the pain or overcoming it, when the blood, which had been checked shortly before, began to flow more abundantly since the bandage by which it had been kept back slipped, and the wound, which had not yet caused pain while still warm,[b] swelled as the
20 blood grew cold. Then he began to lose consciousness and to sink upon his knees, and those nearest to him took him in their arms and carried him to the camp. And Betis, thinking that he had been killed, returned to the city, exulting in his victory.

21 But Alexander, before his wound was yet wholly healed, had a mound constructed equal in height to

[b] *Cf.* iv. 15. 17.

22 pluribusque cuniculis muros subrui iussit. Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium moenium novùm extruxere munimentum, sed ne id quidem turres aggeri impositas poterat aequare. Itaque interiora quoque
23 urbis infesta telis erant. Ultima pestis urbis fuit cuniculo subrutus murus, per cuius ruinas hostis intravit. Ducebat ipse rex antesignanos, et, dum
24 incautius subit, saxo crus eius affligitur. Innixus tamen telo, nondum prioris vulneris obducta cicatrice, inter primores dimicat, ira quoque accensus, quod duo in obsidione urbis eius vulnera acceperat.
25 Betim egregia edita pugna multisque vulneribus confectum deseruerunt sui, nec tamen segnius proelium capessebat, lubricis armis suo pariter atque
26 hostium sanguine. Sed cum undique telis peteretur, ad postremum exhaustis viribus, vivus in potestatem hostium pervenit.[1] Quo adducto,[2] insolenti gaudio iuvenis elatus, alias virtutis etiam in hoste mirator : " Non, ut voluisti," inquit, " morieris, sed quidquid in captivum inveniri potest passurum esse te cogita."
27 Ille non interrito modo, sed contumaci quoque vultu intuens regem nullam ad minas eius reddidit vocem.
28 Tum Alexander : " Videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum ? " inquit, " num genu posuit ? num vocem

[1] peteretur . . . pervenit *added by Freinshem.*
[2] Quo adducto *Freinshem;* quaducto *A.*

[a] According to Arrian (ii. 27. 3), the mound was two stadia in breadth and 250 feet high and surrounded the whole city. He differs from Curtius in many details and gives a fuller and apparently more accurate account of the taking of the city. He does not mention a second wounding of Alexander.

[b] Arrian lays less stress on the effect of the mines, and more on the onslaughts of the phalanx ; see ii. 27. 4 ff.

the walls of the city,[a] and ordered the walls to be
22 undermined by many tunnels. Then the besieged built a new fortification up to the original height of the walls, but not even that was able to equal in height the towers erected on the enemy's mound.
23 Hence the interior of the city also was exposed to missiles. The final disaster to the city was the undermining of a wall by a tunnel, and through its ruins the enemy entered the city.[b] The king himself led the vanguard, and while he was advancing too incau-
24 tiously, he was wounded in the leg by a stone.[c] In spite of this, leaning upon his spear, although the scar of his former wound was not yet closed, he continued to fight among the foremost, inflamed also by anger, because in the siege of that city he had suffered two wounds.

25 Betis, after fighting a gallant battle and being exhausted by many wounds, was deserted by his men, but nevertheless fought on with equal vigour, although his armour was slippery alike with his own
26 blood and that of the enemy. But since he was the target of weapons from all sides, his strength at last gave out and he came alive into the power of the foe. When he was brought before the king, Alexander, usually an admirer of valour even in an enemy, exulting, young as he was, with insolent joy, said: "You shall not die as you have wished, but be sure that you shall suffer whatever can be devised against a
27 captive." Betis, gazing at the king with an expression not only undaunted but haughty, answered
28 not a word to his threats. Then Alexander cried: "Do you not see how determined he is to keep silence? He has not bent his knee, has he? Has

[c] See note *a*.

supplicem misit? Vincam tamen silentium et, si
29 nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellabo." Ira[1] deinde vertit in rabiem, iam tum peregrinos ritus nova subiciente[2] fortuna. Per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi, gloriante rege, Achillen a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda.
30 Cecidere Persarum Arabumque circa x milia, nec Macedonibus incruenta victoria fuit. Obsidio certe non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est quam geminato periculo regis. Qui Aegyptum adire festinans, Amyntan cum x triremibus in Macedoniam ad con-
31 quisitionem[3] novorum militum misit. Namque etiam secundis atterebantur tamen copiae, devictarumque gentium militi minor quam domestico fides habebatur.

VII. Aegyptii olim Persarum opibus infensi—quippe avare et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant—ad spem adventus eius erexerant animos, utpote qui Amyntam quoque transfugam et cum
2 precario imperio venientem laeti recepissent. Igitur ingens multitudo Pelusium, qua intraturus videbatur, convenerat. Atque ille septimo die postquam a Gaza

[1] Ira *J. Froben;* iram *A.*
[2] subiciente *Hedicke;* subeunte *A.*
[3] conquisitionem *Vogel;* inquisitionem *A.*

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[a] *Cf. Iliad* xxii. 395 ff.

[b] On his mother's side through Neoptolemus, son of Achilles; Plut. *Alex.* ii.

[c] The defenders of Gaza all perished, and the women and children were sold into slavery; Arr. ii. 27. 7. The cruel punishment of Betis is not mentioned by Arrian, Diodorus, or Plutarch; *cf.* Dion. Hal. *De Comp. Verb.* 18, p. 123 R; Hegesias *ap.* Dion. *l.c.* p. 125. 6.

[d] Son of Andromenes; *cf.* iii. 9. 7.

he uttered a word of entreaty? Yet I will overcome his silence, and, if in no other way, I will
29 put an end to it by groans." Then his wrath changed to frenzy, for even then his new fortune suggested foreign customs. For while Betis still breathed, thongs were passed round his ankles, he was bound to the king's chariot, and the horses dragged him around the city, while the king boasted that in taking vengeance on an enemy he had imitated Achilles,[a] from whom he derived his race.[b]
30 There fell of the Persians and Arabians about 10,000[c]; nor was it a bloodless victory for the Macedonians. Certain it is that the siege has become famous, not so much from the renown of the city as for the double danger to the king. He, hastening to go to Egypt, sent Amyntas[d] with ten triremes
31 to Macedonia, to levy new soldiers. For even in successful battles his forces were nevertheless worn away, and less confidence was felt in the soldiers of the conquered nations than in those from home.

VII. The Egyptians, hostile of old to the power of the Persians—for they believed that they had been governed avariciously[e] and arrogantly—had taken courage at the prospect of Alexander's coming, since they had welcomed even Amyntas,[f] although he was a deserter and came with a precarious[g] power.
2 Therefore a vast multitude of them had assembled at Pelusium, where they thought that Alexander would enter the country. And in fact six days after moving

[a] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 49. 2. It was a common experience of the Egyptians, because of the fertility of their soil.

[f] *Cf.* iii. 11. 18; not the same as the one mentioned in iv. 6. 30.

[g] Since he was acting on his own responsibility: see iv. 1. 27.

copias moverat, in regionem Aegypti quam nunc
3 Castra Alexandri vocant pervenit. Deinde pedestribus copiis Pelusium petere iussis, ipse cum expedita delectorum manu Nilo amne vectus est. Nec sustinuere adventum eius Persae defectione quoque
4 perterriti. Iamque haud procul Memphi erat; in cuius praesidium[1] Mazaces,[2] praetor Darei, relictus, sponte[3] amne superato, octingenta talenta Alexandro
5 omnemque regiam supellectilem tradidit. A Memphi eodem flumine vectus, ad interiora Aegypti penetrat, compositisque rebus ita ut nihil ex patrio Aegyptiorum more mutaret, adire Iovis Hammonis oraculum statuit.

6 Iter expeditis quoque et paucis vix tolerabile ingrediendum erat; terra caeloque aquarum penuria est, steriles harenae iacent. Quas ubi vapor solis accendit, fervido solo exurente[4] vestigia, intolerabilis
7 aestus exsistit, luctandumque est non solum cum ardore et siccitate regionis, sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo, quod praealtum et vestigio cedens aegre
8 moliuntur pedes. Haec Aegyptii vero maiora iactabant; sed ingens cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Iovem, quem generis sui auctorem, haud contentus mortali fastigio, aut credebat esse aut credi volebat.
9 Ergo cum eis quos ducere secum statuerat secundo amne descendit ad Mareotin paludem. Eo legati

[1] praesidium *Hedicke;* praesidio *A.*
[2] Mazaces *Rader;* astace *A.*
[3] sponte *Hedicke;* oron *A.*
[4] exurente *Vindelinus;* et urente *A.*

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[a] Its situation is unknown; there was another Camp of Alexander in the *regio Ammoniaca.*

[b] *i.e.* Zeus, with whom a god having a temple in the oasis of Siwah, in Libya, was identified.

his forces from Gaza he came to that part of Egypt
3 which they now call Alexander's Camp.[a] From there he ordered the infantry forces to go to Pelusium, and he himself with a light-armed band of elite troops sailed up the river Nile. The Persians did not await his coming, being greatly alarmed also by the revolt
4 of the Egyptians. And already he was not far from Memphis, when Mazaces, the general of Darius who had been left in charge of the city, of his own accord crossed the river, and delivered to Alexander 800
5 talents and all the royal furniture. From Memphis the king sailed on the same river to the interior of Egypt, and after arranging matters in such a way as to make no change in the native customs of the Egyptians, he decided to visit the oracle of Jupiter[b] Ammon.

6 The journey which it was necessary to make was hardly endurable even for those who were lightly equipped and few in number; on earth and in the sky there is scarcity of water; it is a flat waste of barren sands. When the burning sun inflames these, intolerable heat results and the fiery soil scorches the soles of
7 the feet, and one has to contend, not only against the high temperature and dryness of the region, but also the extreme tenaciousness of the coarse sand, through which, as it is very deep and gives way beneath the
8 step, the feet toil with difficulty. These troubles the Egyptians in fact exaggerated; but yet a great longing plied spurs[c] to the king's purpose of visiting Jupiter, whom he, not content with mortal eminence, either believed, or wished men to believe, to be the
9 founder of his race. Therefore, with those whom he had decided to take with him he went down the river

[c] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 3. 1-2; Justin xi. 11; Strabo xvii. 1. 43.

Cyrenensium dona attulere, pacem et ut adiret urbes suas petentes. Ille, donis acceptis amicitiaque coniuncta, destinata exsequi pergit.

10 Ac primo quidem et sequente die tolerabilis labor visus, nondum tam vastis nudisque solitudinibus
11 aditis, iam tamen sterili et emoriente terra. Sed ut aperuere se campi alto obruti sabulo, haud secus quam profundum aequor ingressi terram oculis re-
12 quirebant; nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium. Aqua etiam defecerat, quam utribus cameli vexerant, et in arido solo ac fervido sabulo
13 nulla erat. Ad hoc sol omnia incenderat, siccaque et adusta erant ora, cum repente—sive illud deorum munus sive casus fuit—obductae caelo nubes condidere solem, ingens aestu fatigatis, etiam si aqua
14 deficeret, auxilium. Eisdem vero, ut largum quoque imbrem excusserunt procellae, pro se quisque excipere eum, quidam, ob sitim impotentes[1] sui, ore quoque hianti captare coeperunt.

15 Quadriduum per vastas solitudines absumptum est.

[1] inpotentes *Lauer;* inobtentis *A.*

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[a] According to Diod. (xvii. 49. 2), the envoys from Cyrenê met him in the middle of his march to the Mareotic Lake. From there he went along the coast as far as Paraetonium before turning inward to the site of the oracle (Arr. iii. 3. 3), as is also implied by Diod. (*l.c.*).

[b] *Cf.* ix. 4. 18 *emoriens natura defecerit.* The quotations of later travellers in Mützell's edition are illuminating, and in many particulars are at variance with Curtius' account.

[c] See Plut. *Alex.* xxvi. 6; Mela i. 8. 4.

[d] This is somewhat exaggerated. Later travellers found some vegetation, as well as palms and gum-trees; see Minutoli, *Reise,* pp. 202, 206 (cited by Mützell).

to the Mareotic Lake. Thither [a] envoys from Cyrenê brought gifts, and asked for peace and for a visit to their cities. He accepted the gifts and after concluding friendship with them continued to pursue his intended journey.

10 And indeed on the first and the following day the toil seemed endurable, since the solitudes to which they had come were not yet so desolate and barren,
11 yet the land was already sterile and moribund.[b] But when plains covered with deep sand disclosed themselves, just as if they had entered a vast sea,[c] they
12 looked in vain for land; not a tree, not a trace of cultivated soil met the eye.[d] The water also, which camels had carried in leather bottles, gave out, and there was none [e] to be found in the dry soil and burn-
13 ing sand. Besides this, the sun had made everything fiery-hot, their mouths were dry and parched, when suddenly—whether that was a gift of the gods or mere chance [f]—the sky was overcast with clouds which hid the sun, a great help to those worn out by
14 the heat, even if water were lacking. But indeed, when storms poured out copious rain [g] also, each man received it in his own way; some, beside themselves with thirst, even began to try to catch it in their open mouths.

15 Four days [h] were spent in traversing desert wastes.

[a] This also seems an exaggeration; Minutoli reports springs and cisterns on the road to Paraetonium.

[b] *Cf.* ix. 10. 24; Diod. xvii. 49. 4.

[c] *Cf.* iii. 13. 7. Apparently the journey was made at the beginning of winter, before the regular time for rains; *cf.* Arr. iii. 6. 1.

[d] On the basis of this and § 10, Freinshem allowed six days for the entire journey, but it seems to have taken at least twenty. In later times caravans made it in from nine to fourteen days.

Iamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cum complures corvi agmini occurrunt; modico volatu prima signa antecedentes, modo humi residebant, cum lentius agmen incederet, modo se pennis levabant
16 ducentium[1] iterque[2] monstrantium ritu. Tandem ad sedem consecratam deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita,[3] undique ambientibus ramis vix in densam umbram cadente sole contecta est, multique fontes dulcibus aquis passim
17 manantibus alunt silvas. Caeli quoque mira temperies, verno tepori maxime similis, omnes anni partes
18 pari salubritate percurrit. Accolae sedis sunt ab oriente proximi Aethiopum. In meridiem versum Arabes spectant—Trogodytis[4] cognomen est—; horum regio
19 usque ad Rubrum mare excurrit. At qua vergit ad occidentem, alii Aethiopes colunt, quos Simos[5] vocant. A septentrione Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica,[6] navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa; quippe obsident litora et aestu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis oc-
20 cupant. Incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriis habitant; medium nemus pro arce
21 habent, triplici muro circumdatum. Prima munitio

[1] ducentium *Hug;* cedentium *A.*
[2] iterque *I;* interque *A.* [3] sita *Acidalius;* ita *A.*
[4] Trogodytis *Hedicke;* tragoditis *A.*
[5] Simos *Letellier;* simuos *A.*
[6] Syrtica *Vindelinus;* tyrtica *A.*

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[a] *Complures*; so Plut. *Alex.* xxvii. 3; *cf.* Diod. xvii. 49. 5. Arrian (iii. 3. 5-6) says that according to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, the guides were two serpents, but that the more common version is that of Aristobulus, who speaks of two ravens.

[b] This seems exaggerated; *cf.* Diod. xvii. 50. 1.

[c] *Cf.* ix. 1. 11; Amm. xxiii. 6. 46.

[d] See Hdt. iv. 172 ff.; Diod. iii. 32 ff. The description

And now they were not far from the abode of the oracle, when a great flock of ravens [a] met the army; flying at a moderate speed before the van, they now lighted on the ground when the line advanced more slowly, now raised themselves on their wings, as if
16 acting as guides and showing the way. At length they arrived at the abode consecrated to the god. Incredible to relate, although situated amid desert wastes, it is so covered on all sides by encircling branches [b] that the sun barely penetrates their dense shade, and many founts of sweet water, flowing in all
17 directions, nourish the woods. A wonderful mildness of climate [c] too, very like the warmth of spring, continues through all seasons of the year with like whole-
18 someness. The nearest neighbours of the place, to the east, are of the Ethiopian race. Towards the south they face in the direction of those Arabians whose name is the Trogodytes [d]; the land of these extends
19 as far as the Red Sea. But where the slope is towards the west, other Ethiopians dwell, whom they call the Snub-nosed. To the north are the Nasamones,[e] a race of the Syrtes,[f] enriched from the spoils of ships; for they beset the shores, and since they know the shoals, seize the vessels which are
20 stranded by the shifting sea. The dwellers in the grove, whom they call Ammonii, live in scattered huts [g]; the middle of the grove they hold as a citadel,
21 surrounded by three walls. The first [h] of these

of the boundaries of the place is not at all exact. There is great uncertainty and lack of agreement among ancient writers about the geography and history of northern Africa.

[e] Hdt. ii. 32-33; iv. 172; Strabo xvii. 3. 20 (836).

[f] The Gulfs of Sidra and Cabes.

[g] κωμηδόν, *vicatim*, Diod. xvii. 50. 3.

[h] That is, the innermost.

tyrannorum veterem regiam clausit, in proxima coniuges eorum cum liberis et pelicibus habitabant[1]—hic quoque dei oraculum est—, ultima munimenta satellitum armigerorumque sedes erant.

22 Est et aliud Hammonis nemus ; in medio habet fontem—Solis aquam vocant— ; sub lucis ortum tepida manat, medio die, cuius vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit, inclinato in vesperam calescit, media nocte fervida exaestuat, quoque nox propius vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, donec sub ipsum diei ortum assueto tepore
23 languescat. Quod[2] pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt ; umbilico maxime similis est habitus
24 zmaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. Hunc, cum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes, multis argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus ; sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt, ut certum edat oraculum.
25 Ac tum quidem regem propius adeuntem maximus natu e sacerdotibus filium appellat, hoc nomen illi parentem Iovem reddere affirmans. Ille se vero et accipere ait et agnoscere, humanae sortis oblitus.
26 Consuluit deinde an totius orbis imperium fatis sibi

[1] habitabant *P;* habitant *C.*
[2] Quod *Hedicke;* id *A.*

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[a] A short distance outside the citadel ; Diod. xvii. 50. 4.
[b] On the spring *cf.* Hdt. iv. 181 ; Arr. iii. 4. 2 ; Lucr. vi. 848.
[c] Since the temperature of the spring varied at different times, *assueto* must mean average. It certainly refers to the temperature at daylight; so Diod. xvii. 50. 6 ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς . . . τάξιν.
[d] Or hemisphere.

enclosed the ancient palace of their kings, within the next their wives lived with their children and concubines; here also is the oracle of the god; the outermost fortification was the abode of the attendants and the men-at-arms.

22 There is also another grove of Ammon [a]; in the middle of it is a fountain—they call it the water of the Sun—; at daybreak its flow is lukewarm, in the middle of the day, which is very hot indeed, the same fount is cold, as the day inclines towards evening it grows warmer, in the middle of the night it boils forth hot, and as the night approaches nearer to dawn, it decreases greatly from its nocturnal heat, until at daybreak it cools off [b] to its normal [c] temperature.

23 What is worshipped as the god does not have the same form that artificers have commonly given to the deities; its appearance is very like that of a navel [d] fastened in a mass of emeralds and other gems.

24 When an oracle is sought, the priests [e] carry this in a golden boat with many silver cups hanging from both sides of the boat [f]; matrons and maidens follow, singing in the native manner a kind of rude song, by which they believe Jupiter is propitiated and led to give a trustworthy response.

25 At the time we are describing, as the king drew near, the eldest of the priests called him son, declaring that his father Jupiter gave him that name.[g] Alexander indeed said that he accepted and acknow-

26 ledged it, forgetful of his human condition. He

[e] Eighty in number according to Diod. xvii. 50. 6.

[f] Similar boats have been found in Nubian and Egyptian monuments.

[g] *Cf.* Plut. *Alex.* xxvii. 6; Diod. xvii. 51. 1 ff. Arr. iii. 4. 5, who treats the matter very briefly, merely says that he received the answer his soul desired, as he said.

destinaretur.[1] Vates, aeque in adulationem compositus, terrarum omnium rectorem fore ostendit.
27 Post haec institit quaerere an omnes parentis sui interfectores poenas dedissent. Sacerdos parentem eius negat ullius scelere posse violari, Philippi autem omnes luisse supplicia ; adiecit, invictum fore donec
28 excederet ad deos. Sacrificio deinde facto, dona et sacerdotibus et deo data sunt, permissumque amicis, ut ipsi quoque consulerent Iovem. Nihil amplius quaesierunt quam, an auctor esset sibi divinis honoribus colendi suum[2] regem. Hoc quoque acceptum fore Iovi vates respondent.
29 Vera et salubri aestimatione fidem oraculi vana profecto responsa eludere[3] potuissent, sed Fortuna quos uni sibi credere coëgit magna ex parte avidos
30 gloriae magis quam capaces facit. Iovis igitur filium se non solum appellari passus est, sed etiam iussit rerumque gestarum famam, dum augere vult tali
31 appellatione, corrupit. Et Macedones, assueti quidem regio imperio, sed in maiore libertatis umbra quam ceteri degentes,[4] immortalitatem affectantem contumacius, quam aut ipsis expediebat aut regi,

[1] destinaretur *Bentley;* destinant *A.*
[2] suum *Lauer;* sui *A.*
[3] eludere *Jeep;* si uideri *A;* (ei) videri *Zumpt.*
[4] ceteri degentes *Cornelissen;* ceteregentes *A; perhaps* ceterae sub rege gentes *Warmington.*

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[a] For this unusual expression *cf.* Vell. Pater. i. 2. 1, who uses it of Heracles.
[b] See viii. 5. 5 ff. ; *cf.* Plut. *Alex.* xxvii. 3 ff. The whole incident of the visit to Ammon is examined critically and plausibly by Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon,* pp. 193-200.

then asked whether the rule of the whole world was destined for him by the fates. The prophet, still disposed to flattery, answered that he would be the
27 ruler of all lands. After this the king went on to inquire whether all the murderers of his father had paid the penalty. The priest said that his father could suffer from no man's crime, but that for the crime against Philip all had suffered punishment; he added that Alexander would be invincible till he
28 departed to join the gods.[a] Then, after sacrifice had been offered, gifts were given both to the priests and to the god, and the king's friends also were allowed to consult Jupiter. They asked nothing more than whether the god authorized them to pay divine honours to their king. The prophets replied that this also would be acceptable to Jupiter.

29 In the light of a genuine and entirely sane appraisal, these unquestionably vague responses of the oracle would have brought ridicule upon its trustworthiness, but Fortune makes those whom she has forced to have confidence in herself alone more eager as a rule for glory than big enough to have room
30 for it. Accordingly, Alexander not only allowed himself to be called the son of Jupiter, but even ordered it,[b] and thus while he wished to increase the renown of his exploits by such a title, he really
31 spoilt it. And the Macedonians, accustomed, it is true, to the rule of a king, but living in the shadow[c] of a greater freedom than the other peoples,[d] opposed his claim to immortality more stubbornly than was expedient either for themselves or for their

[c] *Umbra* somewhat as in Lucan iii. 146.

[d] Or "other peoples who are ruled by kings" (see crit. note 4).

32 aversati sunt. Sed haec suo quaeque tempori reserventur ; nunc cetera exsequi pergam.

VIII. Alexander, ab Hammone rediens, ad[1] Mareotin paludem haud procul insula Pharo sitam venit. Contemplatus loci naturam, primum in ipsa insula
2 statuerat urbem novam condere ; inde ut apparuit magnae sedis insulam haud capacem esse, elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc est Alexandrea,[2] appellationem trahens ex nomine auctoris. Complexus quidquid soli est inter paludem ac mare octoginta stadiorum muris ambitum destinat et qui exaedificandae urbi
3 praeessent relictis, Memphin petit. Cupido haud iniusta quidem, ceterum intempestiva incesserat non interiora modo Aegypti, sed etiam Aethiopiam invisere ; Memnonis Tithonique[3] celebrata regia cognoscendae vetustatis avidum trahebat paene extra terminos solis.

4 Sed imminens bellum, cuius multo maior supererat moles, otiosae peregrinationi tempora exemerat. Itaque Aegypto praefecit Aeschylum Rhodium et Peucesten Macedonem, quattuor milibus militum in praesidium regionis eius datis, claustra Nili fluminis Polemonem tueri iubet ; xxx ad hoc triremes datae.
5 Africae deinde quae Aegypto iuncta est praepositus

[1] ad *Hedicke;* ut *A.*
[2] Alexandrea *Vogel;* Alexandri *A.*
[3] Tithonique *Aldus;* tithonisque *A.*

[a] Arr. iii. 4. 5 gives this as the statement of Aristobulus, but adds that Ptolemy, son of Lagus, says that he returned by another way, direct to Memphis.

[b] Noted for its famous lighthouse. The distance is seven stadia ; Strabo xvii. 1. 6 ff. (792) ; Amm. xxii. 16. 10.

[c] According to Pliny, *N.H.* v. 10. 11 (62), the architect was Dinochares; according to Val. Max. i. 4, ext. 1 and Amm. xxii. 6. 7, it was Dinocrates.

32 king. But instances of this may be reserved each for its appropriate time. Now I shall proceed with the rest of my narrative.

VIII. Alexander, as he returned from Ammon, came to the Mareotic Lake,[a] situated not far from the island of Pharos.[b] Contemplating the nature of the place, he had decided at first to build a city on the
2 island itself; then, as it was apparent that the island was not large enough for a great settlement, he chose for the city the present site of Alexandria, which derives its name from that of its founder. Embracing all the ground between the Lake and the sea, he planned a circuit of eighty stadia for the walls, and having left men to take charge of building the city,[c]
3 he went to Memphis. A desire that was not really unreasonable, but untimely, had seized him to visit not only the interior of Egypt, but also Ethiopia; eager as he was to become acquainted with ancient remains,[d] the celebrated palace of Memnon and Tithonus was drawing him almost beyond the limits of the sun.[e]

4 But the imminent war, of which a much greater burden remained, had put an end to the season for leisurely travel. Therefore he put Aeschylus the Rhodian and Peucestes the Macedonian in charge of Egypt, giving them 4000 soldiers for the defence of that region, and ordered Polemon to defend the mouths[f] of the Nile; for this purpose thirty triremes
5 were given. Then Apollonius was put in command

[a] On the antiquities of Egypt see Tac. *Ann.* ii. 60, 61.
[c] *Cf.* ix. 4. 18.
[f] Lit. "barriers," with reference to the defences at the mouths.

Apollonius, vectigalibus eiusdem Africae Aegyptique Cleomenes.[1] Ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandream iussis novam urbem magna multitudine
6 implevit. Fama est, cum rex orbem futuri muri[2] polenta, ut Macedonum mos est, destinasset, avium greges advolasse et polenta esse pastas ; cumque id omen pro tristi a plerisque esset acceptum, respondisse vates magnam illam urbem advenarum frequentiam culturam, multisque eam terris alimenta praebituram.

7 Regem, cum secundo amni defluueret, assequi cupiens Hector, Parmenionis filius, eximio aetatis flore, in paucis Alexandro carus, parvum navigium conscendit, pluribus quam capere posset impositis.
8 Itaque mersa navis omnes destituit. Hector diu flumini obluctatus, cum madens vestis et astricti crepidis pedes natare prohiberent, in ripam tamen semianimis evasit et, ut primum fatigatus spiritum laxavit, quem metus et periculum intenderat, nullo adiuvante—quippe in diversum eyaserant alii—
9 exanimatus est. Amissi eius desiderio vehementer afflictus est repertumque corpus magnifico extulit funere.

Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis Andromachi, quem praefecerat Syriae; vivum Samaritae

[1] Cleomenes *J. Froben;* clemens *A.*
[2] orbem futuri muri *Bentley;* urbem futuri muris *A.*

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[a] Of Naucratis, Arr. iii. 5. 4.
[b] Arr. *l.c.* says Arabia about Heroopolis.
[c] No such custom is known. It was for want of lime; see Amm. xxii. 16. 7 ; Arr. iii. 2. 1 ; etc.
[d] On *destituit cf.* iv. 1. 29.
[e] On *spiritum laxavit cf.* Virg. *Aen.* v. 857 ; ix. 225.
[f] *Cf.* iii. 4. 6.

of the part of Africa which is adjacent to Egypt, and Cleomenes [a] was made collector of the tributes of that part of Africa [b] and of Egypt. Having ordered inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to move to Alexandria, he filled the new city with a great
6 population. It is reported that when the king had marked out the circuit of the new city with peeled barley, as is the custom of the Macedonians,[c] flocks of birds flew to the spot and ate the barley; and when that was regarded by many as a bad omen, the seers predicted that a great number of new-comers would dwell in that city, and that it would furnish sustenance to many lands.

7 When the king was floating down the river, Hector, a son of Parmenion, in the fine flower of his youth and one of Alexander's greatest favourites, desiring to overtake him, embarked upon a small craft, which
8 was loaded with more men than it could carry. So the boat sank with the loss of all on board.[d] Hector struggled for a long time with the river, and although his drenched clothing and the sandals which were tightly fastened to his feet interfered with his swimming, nevertheless made his way half-dead to the bank; but he was tired out, and as he was trying to ease his breathing,[e] which fear and the danger had strained, since no one came to his help—for the others had made their escape to the opposite[f] bank—
9 he died. The king was filled with great grief for the loss of his friend, and when his body was recovered, buried it in a magnificent funeral.

This sorrow was made greater by news of the death of Andromachus, to whom he had given the charge of
10 Syria[g]; the Samaritans had burned him alive. To

[g] *Cf.* iv. 5. 9.

10 cremaverant. Ad cuius interitum vindicandum quanta maxima[1] celeritate potuit contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores.
11 Andromacho deinde Menona substituit affectisque supplicio qui praetorem interemerant, tyrannos, inter quos[2] Methymnaeorum Aristonicum et Stesilaum,[3] popularibus suis tradidit ; quos illi ob iniurias tortos necaverunt.
12 Atheniensium deinde, Rhodiorum et Chiorum legatos audit ; Athenienses victoriam gratulabantur et ut captivi Graecorum suis restituerentur orabant ;
13 Rhodii et Chii de praesidio querebantur. Omnes, aequa[4] desiderare visi, impetraverunt. Mitylenaeis quoque, ob egregiam in partes fidem, et pecuniam quam in bellum impenderant reddidit et magnam
14 regionem finitimam[5] adiecit. Cypriorum quoque regibus, qui et a Dareo defecerant ad ipsum et oppugnanti Tyrum miserant classem, pro merito honos habitus est.
15 Amphoterus deinde, classis praefectus, ad liberandam Cretam missus—namque et Persarum et Spartanorum armis pleraque eius insulae obsidebantur—ante omnia mare a piraticis classibus vindicare iussus ; quippe obnoxium praedonibus erat, bello utrumque[6]

[1] maxima *Acidalius;* maxime *A.*
[2] inter quos *Modius;* interque *A.*
[3] Stesilaum *Hedicke;* ersilaum *A.*
[4] aequa *Modius;* eaque *P;* eaquae *C.*
[5] finitimam *Jeep;* finium *A.*
[6] utrumque *Hedicke;* utrimque *A.*

[a] Son of Cerdimmas (Arr. ii. 13. 7), not otherwise known.

avenge his murder, he hastened to the spot with all possible speed, and on his arrival those who had been guilty of so great a crime were delivered to him.
11 Then he put Menon [a] in place of Andromachus and executed those who had slain his general. Certain tyrants,[b] including Aristonicus and Stesilaüs of Methymnê, he handed over to their own subjects, who put them to death by torture because of their outrages.
12 Then Alexander gave audience to the envoys of the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Chians; the Athenians congratulated him on his victory and begged that the Greek prisoners should be restored to their country; the Rhodians and the Chians made
13 complaints of their garrisons. The requests of all seemed just, and were granted. To the people of Mitylenê also, because of their remarkable loyalty to his cause,[c] he not only repaid the money which they had spent on the war, but also added a great
14 tract of neighbouring territory. To the kings of the Cypriotes besides, who had both gone over from Darius to him and had sent him a fleet when he was besieging Tyre, honour was paid according to their deserts.
15 Then Amphoterus, commander of the fleet, was sent to free Crete—for many parts of that island were beset by the arms both of the Persians and of the Spartans—with orders above all to clear the sea of the pirate fleets; for it was a prey to corsairs, who

[b] This is vague; Arr. iii. 2. 7 says: "the despots (who came) from the cities," evidently sent by those whom they had governed tyrannically.

[c] They had resisted Memnon bravely, but later had submitted to Pharnabazus; Arr. ii. 1. 1-5.

16 in regem converso. His compositis, Herculi Tyrio ex auro crateram cum xxx pateris dicavit imminensque Dareo, ad Euphraten iter pronuntiari iussit.

IX. At Dareus, cum Aegypto devertisse in Africam hostem comperisset, dubitaverat utrumne circa Mesopotamiam subsisteret an interiora regni sui peteret, haud dubie potentior auctor praesens futurus ultimis gentibus impigre bellum capessendi, quas aegre per
2 praefectos suos moliebatur. Sed, ut idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis quamcumque ipse adisset regionem petiturum, haud ignarus quam cum strenuo res esset omnia longinquarum gentium auxilia Babyloniam contrahi iussit. Bactriani Scythaeque et Indi convenerant iam, et[1] ceterarum gentium copiae partibus simul adfuerunt.
3 Ceterum cum dimidio ferme maior esset exercitus quam in Cilicia fuerat, multis arma deerant. Quae summa cura comparabantur; equitibus equisque tegumenta erant ex ferreis lamminis serie inter se conexis, quis antea praeter iacula nihil dederat, scuta
4 gladiique adiciebantur, equorumque domandi greges peditibus distributi sunt, ut maior pristino esset equitatus. Ingensque, ut credebat,[2] hostium terror, ducentae falcatae quadrigae, unicum illarum gentium
5 auxilium, secutae sunt; ex summo temone hastae

[1] convenerant iam, et *Acidalius;* convenerant nam et *A.*
[2] credebat *Kinch;* crederat *P m. pr.;* crediderat *C.*

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[a] See Arr. ii. 16; iii. 6. 1; Curtius iv. 2. 2.
[b] On *moliebatur cf.* iv. 7. 7.
[c] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 53. 3; Arr. iii. 7. 4; Plut. *Alex.* xxxi. 3.
[d] For further details see Diod. xvii. 53. 1 ff.
[e] See iii. 11. 15, and for a fuller description Amm. xvi. 10. 8; xxv. 1. 12.
[f] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 8. 6.

16 made war on both kings. After attending to these affairs, he dedicated a mixing-bowl of gold and thirty cups to the Tyrian Hercules,[a] and, intent upon Darius, ordered a march towards the Euphrates to be announced.

IX. But Darius, when he learned that his enemy had turned aside from Egypt into Africa, hesitated whether to halt in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia or to make for the interior parts of his realm, thinking that he would undoubtedly be a more influential advocate of taking up war resolutely, if he were present in person with those remote nations, which he was with difficulty[b] arousing through his satraps.
2 But when the report spread abroad on good authority that Alexander with all his forces would seek him in whatever region he should take refuge, being well aware with how energetic a foe he had to deal, he ordered all the aid from distant nations to be assembled at Babylon. The Bactriani and Scythians, as well as the Indi, had already come together, and the forces of the remaining nations also were present to help his cause.
3 But although the army was almost half again as large as it had been in Cilicia,[c] many lacked arms. These were being procured with the greatest zeal[d]; the cavalry and their horses had coverings of iron plates joined together in one mesh[e] to those to whom before he had given nothing but javelins,
4 shields and swords were added, and herds of horses to be broken were distributed to the infantrymen, in order that the cavalry might be more numerous than before. And as a mighty terror to the foe, he believed, two hundred scythed chariots,[f] a supplement-
5 ary arm peculiar to those nations, followed; from the

praefixae[1] ferro eminebant, utrimque a iugo ternos direxerat gladios, inter radios rotarum plura spicula eminebant in adversum, aliae deinde falces summissae e[2] rotarum orbibus haerebant et aliae in terram demissae quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuisset amputaturae.

6 Hoc modo instructo exercitu ac perarmato, Babylone copias movit. A parte dextra erat Tigris, nobilis fluvius, laevam tegebat Euphrates, agmen Meso-
7 potamiae campos impleverat. Tigri deinde superato, cum audisset haud procul abesse hostem, Satropaten, equitum praefectum, cum mille delectis praemisit. Mazaeo[3] praetori sex milia data, quibus hostem
8 transitu amnis arceret; eidem mandatum, ut regionem quam Alexander esset aditurus popularetur atque ureret. Quippe credebat inopia debellari posse nihil habentem, nisi quod rapiendo occupasset; ipsi autem commeatus alii terra, alii Tigri amne
9 subvehebantur. Iam pervenerat Arbela, vicum ignobilem,[4] nobilem sua clade facturus. Hic comme-

[1] praefixae *Vindelinus;* praefixo *A.*
[2] e *added by Hedicke.*
[3] Mazaeo *Aldus;* mazeo *A* (*so also in* § *12*).
[4] ignobilem *added by Büttner.*

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[a] *i.e.* of each chariot; we might have expected the plural; but *cf.* iv. 15. 4.

[b] *Cf.* iv. 9. 25. Arrian does not mention Satropates, but names Atrobates as leader of the Medic cavalry (iii. 8. 4).

end of the pole [a] spears tipped with iron projected, and on both sides of the yoke he had affixed three swords on each side, between the spokes of the wheels many sharp points projected in opposite directions to each other, and then other scythes fixed in the rim of the wheels pointed upwards, and still others pointed towards the ground, to cut to pieces whatever came in the way of the horses as they were swiftly driven on.

6 When his army had been equipped and thoroughly armed in this way, Darius moved his forces from Babylon. On his right side was the Tigris, a famous river, the Euphrates protected his left side, his army 7 had filled the plains of Mesopotamia. Then, after crossing the Tigris, when he heard that the enemy was not far off, he sent ahead Satropates, commander of the cavalry,[b] with 1000 elite horsemen. To Mazaeus, satrap of Babylon, 6000 were given, with which to keep the enemy from crossing the river; 8 he was also directed to pillage and burn the region which Alexander was about to approach. For Darius believed that his enemy could be vanquished by want, since he had nothing except what he could seize by pillage; but to himself supplies were being brought, some by land, others by the Tigris River. 9 And now he had reached Arbela,[c] an insignificant village, but one which he was to make famous by his disaster. Here he left the greater part of his provi-

The purpose of sending Satropates and its connexion with that of Mazaeus is not clear.

[c] Arbela was a place of some importance; Diod. xvii. 53. 4 calls it *κώμη*, but Arr. iii. 8. 7 and vi. 11. 5, *πόλις*, and Strabo xvi. 1. 3 (737) *κατοικία ἀξιόλογος*. The battle was not fought there, but at Gaugamela, five or six hundred stadia from Arbela (Arr. vi. 11. 4–6).

atuum sarcinarumque maiore parte deposita, Lycum amnem ponte iunxit et per dies quinque, sicut ante
10 Euphraten, traiecit exercitum. Inde octoginta fere stadia progressus, ad alterum amnem—Boumelo nomen est—castra posuit. Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planities; ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum, liberque prospectus oculorum etiam ad ea quae procul recessere permittitur: atque,[1] si qua campi eminebant, iussit aequari totumque fastigium extendi.
11 Alexandro, qui numerum copiarum eius, quantum procul coniectari poterat, aestimabant vix fecerunt fidem tot milibus caesis maiores copias esse reparatas.
12 Ceterum omnis periculi et maxime multitudinis contemptor, undecimis castris ad Euphraten pervenit. Quo pontibus iuncto, equites primos ire, phalangem sequi iubet, Mazaeo, qui ad inhibendum transitum eius cum sex milibus equitum occurrerat, non auso
13 periculum sui facere. Paucis deinde non ad quietem, sed ad praeparandos animos diebus datis militi, strenue hostem insequi coepit, metuens ne interiora regni sui peteret sequendusque esset per loca omni
14 solitudine atque inopia vasta. Igitur quarto decimo[2] die praeter Armeniam[3] penetrat ad Tigrin. Tota regio ultra amnem recenti fumabat incendio; quippe Mazaeus quaecumque adierat haud secus quam hostis

[1] atque *Hedicke;* itaque *A.*
[2] decimo *added by Kinch.*
[3] Armeniam *Mützell;* Arbela *A.*

[a] The Greater Zab.
[b] Bumodus, Arr. iii. 8. 7, vi. 11. 5.
[c] Apparently reckoned from Phoenicia.
[d] He crossed at Thapsacus, in the month Hecatombaeon, when Aristophanes was archon at Athens; Arr. iii. 7. 1 ("two bridges," evidently pontoons). [e] *Cf.* vii. 8. 27.

sions and baggage, bridged the river Lycus,[a] and as before at the Euphrates spent five days in getting his
10 army across. From there, having advanced about eighty stadia, he pitched his camp by a second river—its name is Boumelus.[b] It was a region most advantageous for deploying his forces, being a vast plain suitable for cavalry; not even shrubs and short bushes hide the ground, and an unobstructed view is allowed even to objects which are far away; and if there was any eminence in the plains, he gave orders that it should be levelled and the whole rising made flat.

11 Those who estimated the number of Darius' forces, so far as it could be inferred from a distance, could hardly make Alexander believe that after so many thousands had been killed still greater forces had
12 been recruited. But being a man who scorned every danger, and especially great numbers, he encamped on the eleventh day[c] at the Euphrates. Having bridged the river in two places, he ordered the cavalry to go first[d] and the phalanx to follow; for Mazaeus, who had hastened to the spot with 6000 horsemen in order to prevent his crossing, did not dare to risk
13 himself in a battle.[e] Then, after a few days had been granted to the soldiers, not for rest, but to strengthen their morale, he began vigorously to follow the enemy, for fear that Darius might make for the interior of his kingdom and that it might be necessary to follow him through places altogether
14 deserted and without supplies. Accordingly on the fourteenth day he penetrated beyond Armenia to the Tigris. The entire region beyond the river was smoking from a recent conflagration; for Mazaeus was setting fire to whatever he came to, as if it were

15 urebat. Ac primo, caligine quam fumus effuderat obscurante lucem, insidiarum metu substitit, deinde ut speculatores praemissi tuta omnia nuntiaverunt, paucos equitum ad temptandum vadum fluminis praemisit. Cuius altitudo primo summa equorum pectora, mox, ut in medium alveum ventum est, cer-
16 vices quoque aequabat. Nec sane alius amnis[1] ad Orientis plagam tam violentus invehitur, multorum torrentium non aquas solum, sed etiam saxa secum trahens. Itaque a celeritate qua defluit Tigri nomen est inditum, quia Persica lingua tigrin sagittam appellant.

17 Igitur pedes, velut divisus in cornua circumdato equitatu, levatis super capita armis, haud aegre ad
18 ipsum alveum penetrat. Primus inter pedites rex egressus in ripam, vadum militibus manu, quando vox exaudiri non poterat, ostendit. Sed gradum firmare vix poterant, cum modo saxa lubrica vestigium fallerent, modo rapidior unda subduceret.
19 Praecipuus erat labor eorum qui humeris onera portabant; quippe cum semetipsos regere non possent, in rapidos gurgites incommodo onere auferebantur, et dum sua quisque spolia consequi studet, maior inter ipsos quam cum amni orta luctatio est, cumulique

[1] amnis *added by Eberhard.*

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[a] This seems to be an exaggeration. Kinneir, *Jour.* p. 517 (cited by Mützell), says that the Tigris between Iezirah and Mosul can be forded during the summer and autumn. Rich, *Narrat.* 2, p. 47, found the river at Mosul on Nov. 12 only a foot deep. See also Olivier, *Reise*, 2, p. 634 (Mützell).

[b] For *ad Orientis plagam cf.* x. 1. 17.

[c] *i.e.* in regular battle-formation, the cavalry on the left wing to break the force of the current, those on the right to catch any who were swept away by the river.

15 the enemy's territory. And at first, since the darkness which the smoke had spread abroad obscured the light of day, Alexander halted through fear of ambuscades, then, as the scouts that had been sent ahead reported that all was safe, he sent on a few of the cavalry, to try to ford the river. The water rose at first as high as the horses' flanks, then, when they came to mid-channel, to their necks as well.[a]
16 And certain it is that no other river in the region of the Orient[b] rushes on with such violence, carrying with it not only the waters of many torrents, but also rocks. And so, from the speed of its flow it has been given the name "Tigris," because in the Persian tongue they call an arrow *tigris*.
17 Therefore the infantry, as if divided into wings encircled by the cavalry,[c] and carrying their arms over their heads, without any difficulty penetrated to
18 the mid-channel. The king being the first among the infantry to land on the farther bank, pointed out the shallower water[d] to the soldiers with his hand, when his voice could not be heard. But they could with difficulty keep a firm footing,[e] since now the slippery stones deceived their steps,[f] and now too swift a current swept
19 their feet away.[g] The toil of those was the greatest who carried burdens upon their shoulders; for since they could not direct their own course they were carried away by the unmanageable burden into swift and deep places, and while each man was striving to save his own spoils, a greater struggle arose among

[a] Curtius seems to forget that the soldiers were advancing in battle-formation.

[e] *Cf.* Amm. xiv. 2. 6 *firmare gressus.*

[f] *Cf.* Amm. *l.c. lapsantibus plantis.*

[g] *Cf.* Plaut. *Menaech.* prol. 64-65 *rapidus (fluvius) raptori pueri subduxit pedes.*

sarcinarum passim fluitantes plerosque perculerant.
20 Rex monere ut satis haberent arma retinere ; cetera se redditurum. Sed neque consilium neque imperium accipi poterat ; obstrepebat hinc metus, praeter hunc
21 invicem luctantium[1] mutuus clamor. Tandem, qua leniore tractu amnis aperit vadum emersere, nec quicquam praeter paucas sarcinas desideratum est.
22 Deleri potuit exercitus, si quis vincere ausus esset, sed perpetua fortuna regis avertit inde hostem. Sic Granicum, tot milibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa, superavit, sic angustis in Ciliciae callibus[2] tantam multitudinem hostium ;
23 audaciae quoque, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui potest, quia numquam in discrimen venit an temere fecisset. Mazaeus, qui, si transeuntibus flumen supervenisset, haud dubie oppressurus fuit incompositos, in ripa demum ad iam[3] perarmatos adequitare
24 coepit. Mille admodum equites praemiserat ; quorum paucitate Alexander explorata, deinde contempta, praefectum Paeonum[4] equitum Aristona laxatis habenis invehi iussit.
25 Insignis eo die pugna equitum et praecipue Aristonis fuit ; praefectum equitatus Persarum Satropaten directa in guttur[5] hasta transfixit fugientemque

[1] luctantium *Bentley;* nutantium *A.*
[2] callibus *Aldus;* collibus *C;* colligibus *P.*
[3] ad iam *Hedicke;* etiam *A.*
[4] Paeonum *Aldus;* poenorum *BLV;* poeniorum *F m. pr. P m. pr.*
[5] guttur *Faber;* guttere *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* vi. 10. 14 ; viii. 4. 4 ; Livy xxii. 5. 3.
[b] *i.e.* because of his uniform success, deeds which would have been reckless if unsuccessful were not judged to be so.
[c] *Cf.* iv. 15. 3 ; Virg. *Aen.* i. 63.

themselves than with the river, and the heaps of packs floating here and there had upset many of
20 them. The king admonished them to be satisfied with keeping hold of their weapons; that he would restore everything else. But neither advice nor command could be heard; on the one hand fear dazed[a] them, and besides this their shouting at one
21 another as they struggled together. At last, where the current of the river was less violent and disclosed shallower water, they landed, without the loss of anything except a few packs.

22 The army could have been destroyed, if anyone had had the courage to conquer it, but the king's constant good fortune turned the enemy from the spot. In the same way he crossed the Granicus, while so many thousands of horse and foot were at a standstill on the further bank; thus in the narrow passes of Cilicia he overcame such a horde of foes;
23 even the charge of reckless daring, which he had in abundance, can have less force, because there was never opportunity to decide whether he had acted rashly.[b] Mazaeus, who, if he had fallen upon them while they were crossing the river, would undoubtedly have overwhelmed them in their disorder, did not begin to ride against them until they were on the
24 bank and fully armed. Mazaeus had sent ahead only 1000 horsemen; and Alexander, having ascertained their small number and then treated it with scorn, ordered Ariston, commander of the Paeonian cavalry, to charge them at full speed.[c]

25 Glorious on that day was the fighting of the cavalry, and in particular of Ariston; aiming his spear straight at the throat of Satropates, leader of the Persian horsemen, he ran it through, then overtaking him as

per medios hostes consecutus, ex equo praecipitavit et obluctanti gladio caput dempsit. Quod relatum magna cum laude ante regis pedes posuit.

X. Biduo ibi stativa rex habuit; in proximum
2 deinde pronuntiari iter[1] iussit. Sed prima fere vigilia luna deficiens primum nitorem sideris sui condidit, deinde sanguinis colore suffuso lumen omne foedavit, sollicitisque sub ipsum tanti discriminis casum ingens religio et ex eâ formido quaedam
3 incussa est. Dis invitis in ultimas terras trahi se querebantur; iam nec flumina posse adiri nec sidera pristinum servare fulgorem, vastas terras, deserta omnia occurrere; in unius hominis iactationem tot milium sanguinem impendi, fastidio esse patriam, abdicari Philippum patrem, caelum vanis cogitationi-
4 bus petere regem.[2] Pro seditione res erat, cum ad omnia interritus duces principesque militum frequentes adesse praetorio iubet Aegyptiosque vates, quos caeli ac siderum peritissimos esse credebat, quid sentirent expromere.

5 At illi, qui satis scirent temporum orbes implere destinatas vices lunamque deficere, cum aut terram

[1] iter *added in I.*
[2] petere regem *Hedicke;* petere iam *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Plut. *Alex.* xxxix. 1.

[b] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 7. 6; Plut. *Alex.* xxxi. 4; Cic. *De Div.* i. 53. 121. This eclipse was in the night of Sept. 20-21, 331 B.C. The battle was fought eleven days later, Oct. 1.

[c] A reference to the unusually high water in the Tigris; see iv. 9. 15, note *a.*

[d] *Cf.* v. 1. 22.

[e] Curtius means not the mere setting of the moon when

he fled through the midst of the enemy, hurled him from his horse, and in spite of his resistance cut off his head with a sword, brought it back, and amid great applause laid it at the king's feet.[a]

X. There for two days the king remained in his camp; then he ordered a march to be announced
2 for the following day. But about the first watch the moon, in eclipse, hid at first the brilliance of her heavenly body,[b] then all her light was sullied and suffused with the hue of blood, and those who were already anxious on the very eve of so critical a contest were struck with intense religious awe and from that
3 with a kind of dread. They complained that against the will of the gods they were being dragged to the ends of the earth; no longer could rivers be approached,[c] nor did the heavenly bodies keep their former brilliance, desert lands and solitude everywhere met them; to gratify the vanity of one man the blood of so many soldiers was being spent, their king disdained his native land, disowned his father Philip, and with vainglorious thoughts aspired to
4 heaven. Already the affair was approaching a mutiny, when Alexander, unterrified in the face of everything, ordered the generals and the higher officers of the soldiers to appear in full numbers at the king's tent, and the Egyptian soothsayers, whom he believed to be most skilled in reading the heavens and the stars,[d] to declare their opinion.

5 But they, although they knew well enough that the heavenly bodies which determine the seasons have their destined changes, and that the moon suffers eclipse either when it goes behind the earth [e]

visible, but a real eclipse, the cause of which was known to the ancients; *cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 10. 7 (47); Amm. xx. 3. 7.

subiret aut sole premeretur, rationem quidem ipsis
6 perceptam non edocent vulgus ; ceterum affirmant solem Graecorum, lunam esse Persarum, quotiensque illa deficiat, ruinam stragemque illis gentibus portendi, veteraque exempla percensent Persidis regum, quos adversis dis pugnasse lunae ostendisset defectio.
7 Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit quam superstitio ; alioqui impotens, saeva, mutabilis, ubi vana religione capta est, melius vatibus quam ducibus suis paret. Igitur edita in vulgus Aegyptiorum responsa rursus ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes.
8 Rex, impetu animorum utendum ratus, secunda vigilia castra movit ; dextra Tigrim habebat, a laeva
9 montes, quos Gordyaeos[1] vocant. Hoc ingressis[2] iter speculatores qui praemissi erant sub lucis ortum Dareum adventare nuntiaverunt. Instructo igitur
10 milite et composito agmine antecedebat. Sed Persarum moratores erant, mille ferme, qui speciem magni agminis fecerant ; quippe ubi explorari vera
11 non possunt, falsa per metum augentur. His cognitis, rex cum paucis suorum assecutus agmen refugientium ad suos, alios cecidit, cepit alios ; equitesque praemisit speculatum, simul ut ignem quo

[1] Gordyaeos *Cospus;* cordeos *A*.
[2] ingressis *Zumpt;* ingressus *A*.

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[a] The moon disappears at new moon when the surface turned towards us is unlightened. *Deficio* is used of a waning moon as of one eclipsed (Gell. xx. 8. 5).

[b] *Cf.* Hdt. vii. 37.

[c] Modius omits the preposition ; *cf.* Livy iv. 32. 8 *dextra montibus, laeva Tiberi amne saeptus.* The preposition, however, improves the rhythm.

[d] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 7. 7. The Carduchaean mountains of Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 5. 15-17 ; etc.).

or is covered by the sun,[a] do not teach the common people the knowledge which they themselves possess;
6 but they declared that the sun represented the Greeks [b] and the moon the Persians, and that whenever the moon suffered eclipse, defeat and slaughter was foretold for those nations, and they enumerated ancient examples of Persian kings whom an eclipse of the moon showed to have fought without the
7 favour of the gods. Nothing sways the common herd more effectively than superstition; generally uncontrolled, savage, fickle, when they are victims of vain superstition, they obey the soothsayers better than they do their leaders. Therefore the interpretations of the Egyptians, when they were made public, restored the down-hearted to hope and confidence.
8 The king, thinking that he ought to take advantage of the ardour of their spirits, broke camp in the second watch; he had the Tigris on his right, on the left [c]
9 the mountains which they call the Gordyaean.[d] When they had begun this march, scouts who had been sent ahead reported to them towards daybreak that Darius was coming. Therefore Alexander went on at the head of his troops with the soldiers drawn up
10 and his line in order. But they were loiterers of the Persians,[e] not more than a thousand in number, who had given the impression of a great army; for when the truth cannot be discovered, the false is exaggerated through fear. When the truth was known, the
11 king with a few [f] of his men followed hard after the band as they fled to their main body, killing some and capturing others; and he sent riders ahead to reconnoitre, and at the same time to put out the fires

[e] According to Arr. iii. 7. 7 ff., they were cavalry.
[f] According to Arr. iii. 8. 1, he took a considerable force.

barbari cremaverant vicos extinguerent. Quippe fugientes raptim tectis acervisque frumenti iniecerant flammas, quae cum in summo haesissent, ad inferiora nondum penetraverant.

Exstincto igitur igne, plurimum frumenti repertum est; copia aliarum quoque rerum abundare coeperunt. Ea res ipsa militi ad persequendum hostem animum incendit; quippe, urente et populante eo terram, festinandum erat, ne incendio cuncta praeciperet. In rationem ergo necessitas versa est; quippe Mazaeus, qui antea per otium vicos incenderat, iam fugere contentus pleraque inviolata hosti reliquit.

Alexander haud longius CL stadiis Dareum a se abesse compererat; itaque, ad satietatem quoque copia commeatuum instructus, quadriduo in eodem loco substitit.

Interceptae deinde Darei litterae sunt, quibus Graeci milites sollicitabantur, ut regem aut interficerent aut proderent, dubitavitque an eas pro contione recitaret, satis confisus Graecorum quoque erga se benivolentiae ac fidei. Sed Parmenio deterruit non[1] esse talibus promissis imbuendas aures militum affirmans; patere vel unius insidiis regem, nihil nefas esse avaritiae. Secutus consilii auctorem, castra movit.

Iter facienti spado e captivis qui Darei uxorem

[1] non *added by Modius.*

[a] *Cf.* Polyaen. iv. 3. 18. [b] *i.e.* not Macedonian. [c] *i.e.* of the whole army.

12 which the barbarians had set in the villages. For as they fled they had hurriedly thrown fire-brands upon the house-roofs and on piles of grain,[a] which, although they had lodged at the top, had not yet penetrated to the lower parts.

13 Hence, when the fire was extinguished, the greater part of the grain was saved; the supply of other necessities also began to be abundant. This very fact fired the ardour of the soldiers in their pursuit of the enemy; for since they were burning and devastating the land, there was need of haste lest they should destroy everything by fire before they could be
14 stopped. Therefore necessity was changed to policy; for Mazaeus, who had before burned the villages at his ease, now was content to make his escape and
15 left most things uninjured to the enemy. Alexander had learned that Darius was not more than 150 stadia distant from him; therefore, being furnished even to satiety with a supply of provisions, he remained for four days in the same place.

16 Then letters of Darius were intercepted, in which the Greek soldiers[b] were tempted either to kill or to betray their king, and Alexander was in doubt whether to read them before an assembly,[c] since he thoroughly trusted the goodwill and loyalty towards
17 him of the Greek troops also. But Parmenion dissuaded him, declaring that the ears of the soldiers ought not to be infected by such promises; the king, he said, was exposed to the treachery of even any one man; nothing was criminal in the eyes of avarice. Yielding to the author of this advice, Alexander broke camp.

18 As he was on his way, a eunuch among the prisoners who were in attendance on the wife of Darius re-

comitabantur deficere eam nuntiat et vix spiritum
19 ducere. Itineris continui labore animique aegritudine fatigata, inter socrus et virginum filiarum manus collapsa erat, deinde et exstincta. Id ipsum nuntians
20 alius supervenit. Et rex, haud secus quam si parentis mors nuntiata esset, crebros edidit gemitus lacrimisque obortis, qualis Dareus profudisset, in tabernaculum in quo mater erat Darei defuncto assidens
21 corpori venit. Hic vero renovatus est maeror, ut prostratam humi vidit. Recenti malo priorum quoque admonita, receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui doloris solacia, sed quibus ipsa
22 deberet esse solacio. In conspectu erat nepos parvulus, ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem, ex maxima parte ad ipsum redundantem.
23 Crederes Alexandrum inter suas necessitudines flere et solacia non adhibere, sed quaerere. Cibo certe abstinuit omnemque honorem funeri patrio Persarum more servavit, dignus, hercule, qui nunc quoque tantae[1] et mansuetudinis et continentiae
24 ferat fructum. Semel omnino eam viderat, quo die capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darei matrem videret, eximiamque pulchritudinem formae eius non libidinis habuerat invitamentum, sed gloriae.
25 E spadonibus, qui circa reginam erant, Tyriotes inter trepidationem lugentium elapsus per eam por-

[1] tantae *Bongars;* tantum *A*.

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[a] *Defuncto corpori* is a very unusual expression, but *cf.* Virg. *Georg.* iv. 475, and, less tastefully, Lucan iii. 720.

[b] *Cf.* Gell. xiii. 3.

[c] *Cf.* iii. 12. 13.

[d] Called Teireos by Plut. *Alex.* xxx. 1. Arrian (iv. 20) does not name him, but merely calls him a chamberlain.

ported to him that she was failing and could barely
19 draw breath. Worn out by the constant toil of marching and by grief, she had swooned in the arms of her mother-in-law and her maiden daughters, and then had died. Another messenger came also bringing
20 that same news. And the king, just as if the death of his own mother had been announced, uttered many laments and with rising tears, such as Darius might have shed, came into the tent where the mother of
21 Darius was sitting by the dead body.[a] Here indeed his grief was renewed, when he saw her prostrate on the ground. The mother, reminded also of her former misfortunes by this recent loss, had taken to her bosom her grown-up daughters, a great solace for their common sorrow, but to whom she herself
22 ought to have been a comfort. Before her eyes was her little grandson, to be pitied for the very reason that he did not yet realize the flood of calamity which streamed towards him most of all.

23 You would have thought that Alexander was weeping among his own kin,[b] and that he was not offering, but looking for, consolation. Certain it is that he abstained from food and that he observed every honour in performing the funeral rites in the native manner of the Persians,[c] worthy, by Heaven! even now of reaping the fruit of such great compassion
24 and continence. He had seen her only once, on the day when she was taken prisoner, but it was when he went to visit, not her, but the mother of Darius, and her remarkable beauty had been an incentive, not to passion, but to glory.

25 Of the eunuchs who were in attendance upon the queen, Tyriotes [d] amid the confusion caused by the mourners escaped through that gate which, because

tam, quae, quia ab hoste aversa erat, levius custodiebatur, ad Darei castra pervenit, exceptusque a vigilibus, in tabernaculum regis perducitur gemens et
26 veste lacerata. Quem ut conspexit Dareus, multiplici doloris expectatione commotus et quid potissimum timeret incertus : " Vultus," inquit, " tuus nescio quod ingens malum praefert, sed cave miseri hominis auribus parcas ; didici esse infelix, et saepe
27 calamitatis solacium est nosse sortem suam. Num, quod maxime suspicor, eloqui[1] timeo, ludibria meorum nuntiaturus es mihi et, ut credo, ipsis quoque
28 omni tristiora supplicio[a] ?" Ad haec Tyriotes : " Istud quidem procul abest," inquit ; " quantuscumque enim reginis honos ab his qui parent haberi potest, tuis a victore servatus est. Sed uxor tua paulo ante excessit e vita."
29 Tunc vero non gemitus modo, sed etiam eiulatus totis castris exaudiebatur. Nec dubitavit Dareus quin interfecta esset quia nequisset contumeliam perpeti, exclamatque amens dolore : " Quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander ? quem tuorum propinquorum necavi, ut hanc vicem redderes[2] saevitiae meae ? Odisti me non quidem provocatus ; sed finge iustum intulisse te bellum, cum feminis ergo
30 agere debueras ? " Tyriotes affirmare per deos[3] patrios nihil in eam gravius esse consultum ; ingemuisse etiam Alexandrum morti et non parcius
31 flevisse quam ipse lacrimaret. Ob haec ipsa amantis

[1] eloqui *Stangl;* et loqui *A.*
[2] redderes *added in I.*
[3] per deos . . . vincti (*xi. 11*), *lost in V.*

[a] The story is told in a different connexion by Arr. iv. 20.
[b] *Cf.* x. 1. 3.

it did not face the enemy, was only slightly guarded, reached the camp of Darius, and being received by the watchmen, was led into the king's tent, lament-
26 ing and with rent garments. On seeing him Darius, deeply disturbed by the expectation of more sorrows than one and uncertain what to fear most, said [a]: "Your expression reveals some great misfortune or other, but do not spare the ears of a wretched man; I have learned to be unhappy, and it is often a consolation for calamity that a man should know his
27 fate. You are not going to tell me, are you, what I most suspect but dread to speak out, the dishonour [b] of my family, which to me, and, as I believe, to them
28 is more awful than any punishment?" To these words Tyriotes replied: "That suspicion of yours is indeed far from the truth; for the greatest honour that can be shown to queens [c] by their subjects has been observed towards yours by the victor. But your wife a short time ago passed away."
29 Then truly, not only groans but shrieks were heard in the whole camp. And Darius had no doubt but that she had been killed because she had been unable to endure outrage, and beside himself with grief he cried: "What great crime have I committed, Alexander? Whom of your kindred have I murdered, that you should take this revenge for my cruelty? Me you hate, without provocation, indeed; but suppose that you have justly made war upon me, ought
30 you then to have waged it against women?" Tyriotes swore by his country's gods that she had suffered no violation; that Alexander had lamented her death, and had wept as bitterly as Darius himself was weep-
31 ing. But by these very words the mind of the loving

[c] See note on iii. 12. 12.

animus in sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est, desiderium captivae profecto a consuetudine
32 stupri ortum esse coniectans. Summotis igitur arbitris, uno dumtaxat Tyriote retento, iam non flens, sed suspirans : " Videsne," inquit,[1] " Tyriote, locum mendacio non esse ? tormenta iam hic erunt, sed ne expectaveris per deos, si quid tibi tui regis reverentiae est ; num quod et scire expeto et quaerere pudet ausus est et dominus et iuvenis ? "
33 Ille quaestioni corpus offerre, deos testes invocare,
34 caste sancteque habitam esse reginam. Tandem ut fides facta est vera esse quae affirmaret spado, capite velato diu flevit manantibusque adhuc lacrimis, veste ab ore reiecta, ad caelum manus tendens : " Di patrii," inquit, " primum mihi stabilite regnum ; deinde, si de me iam transactum est, precor ne quis potius Asiae rex sit quam iste tam iustus hostis, tam misericors victor."

XI. Itaque, quamquam frustra pace bis petita omnia in bellum consilia converterat, victus tamen continentia hostis ad novas pacis condiciones ferendas x legatos, cognatorum principes, misit ; quos Alex-
2 ander consilio advocato introduci iussit. E quibus maximus natu : " Dareum," inquit, " ut pacem a te iam hoc tertium peteret nulla vis subegit, sed iustitia
3 tua[2] et continentia expressit. Matrem, coniugem, liberos eius, nisi quod sine illo sunt, captos esse non

[1] inquit *Walch;* inte *A.* [2] tua *added by Hedicke.*

[a] For *revolutus est cf.* vii. 7. 8. [b] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 19. 6.
[c] It is interesting to compare this prayer with the same in Plut. *Alex.* xxx. 6 f. ; *De Fort. Alex.* ii. p. 338 E-F ; Arr. iv. 20. 3. [d] See iii. 3. 14, note *f.*
[e] Arr. ii. 25. 1 and Diod. xvii. 54. 1 differ somewhat from Curtius ; Justin xi. 12 agrees with him.

husband was turned again [a] to anxiety and suspicion, imagining that Alexander's grief for a captive was
32 undoubtedly caused by habitual intimacy. Accordingly, having dismissed all witnesses and retaining only Tyriotes, no longer weeping, but sighing, he said: "Do you not see, Tyriotes, that there is no room for falsehood? Instruments of torture will soon be here; but do not wait for them, I beseech you by the gods, if you have any reverence for your king; he did not dare, did he, being master of events [b] and young, to do that which I both desire to know, and am ashamed to inquire?"

33 The eunuch offered his body for torture, but called upon the gods to witness that the queen had been
34 treated chastely and with respect. Then at last, when Darius was made to believe that what the eunuch declared was true, he covered his head and wept for a long time, then with tears still flowing he threw back the mantle from his face and, lifting his hands to heaven, said [c]: "O Gods of my fathers, above all make firm my rule, but if it be now finished with me, may no one, I pray, be king of Asia, rather than that enemy so just, that victor so merciful."

XI. Accordingly, although after twice seeking peace in vain he had concentrated all his plans on war, yet overcome by his enemy's continence, Darius sent ten envoys, the leading men of his court,[d] to present new conditions of peace.[e] Alexander, having called a council, ordered these envoys to be given audience.
2 The eldest of them said: "That Darius should seek peace now for this third time no force has compelled him, but he is constrained to do so by your justice
3 and continence. We have not felt that his mother, wife and children were prisoners, except in being

sensimus ; pudicitiae earum quae supersunt curam haud secus quam parens agens, reginas appellas,
4 speciem pristinae fortunae retinere pateris. Vultum tuum video qualis Darei fuit, cum dimitteremur ab eo ; et ille tamen uxorem, tu hostem luges. Iam in acie stares, nisi cura te sepulturae eius moraretur. Ecquid[1] mirum est si tam ab amico animo pacem petit ? Quid opus est armis inter quos odia sublata
5 sunt ? Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halym amnem, qui Lydiam terminat ; nunc, quidquid inter Hellespontum et Euphraten est in dotem filiae offert
6 quam tibi tradit. Ochum filium, quem habes, pacis et fidei obsidem retine, matrem et duas virgines filias redde ; pro tribus corporibus xxx milia talentum auri precatur accipias.

7 " Nisi moderationem animi tui notam haberem, non dicerem hoc esse tempus quo pacem non dare solum,
8 sed etiam occupare deberes. Respice quantum post te reliqueris ; intuere, quantum petas. Periculosum est praegrave imperium ; difficile est enim continere quod capere non possis. Videsne ut navigia quae modum excedunt regi nequeant ? Nescio an Dareus ideo tam multa amiserit, quia nimiae opes magnae
9 iacturae locum faciunt. Facilius quidem[2] vincere quam tueri ; quam, hercule, expeditius manus nostrae rapiunt quam continent ! Ipsa mors uxoris

[1] ecquid *I;* et quid *A.* [2] quidem *Scheffer;* quaedam *A.*

[a] The Attic talent of silver was, in weight, the equivalent of £243 : 15s. or $1182. 19.

without him ; guarding like a father the chastity of those who still live, you call them queens, and suffer them to retain the semblance of their former fortune.
4 I see your expression as sorrowful as that of Darius, when he sent us to you ; and yet he is mourning for a wife, you for an enemy. Already you would be standing in line-of-battle, had not the concern for her obsequies delayed you. Is it at all strange if he seeks peace from so friendly a spirit ? What need is there for arms among those who feel no
5 hatred ? Heretofore he set the river Halys, which marks the farther boundary of Lydia, as the limit of your rule ; he now offers all the country between the Hellespont and the Euphrates as a dowry for
6 his daughter, whom he gives you in marriage. Keep his son Ochus, who is in your possession, as a hostage of peace and good faith, return his mother and his two maiden daughters ; in return for their three persons he begs you to accept 30,000 talents of gold.[a]
7 " I would not venture to say that this is the time when you ought, not only to grant peace, but even to seize it of your own accord, if I were not aware of your
8 self-restraint. Consider how great a tract you have left behind you, look and see how much you are seeking to gain. A very dangerous thing is too great an empire ; for it is difficult to hold what one cannot grasp. Do you not see how ships that exceed a moderate bulk cannot be managed ? I really think that Darius has lost so much for no other reason than because too great possessions offer op-
9 portunity for great loss. Truly it is easier to conquer than to protect ; how much more readily do our hands seize than hold ! Even the death of Darius'

Darei admonere te potest minus iam misericordiae tuae licere quam licuit."

10 Alexander legatis excedere tabernaculo iussis, quid placeret, ad consilium refert. Diu nemo quid sentiret
11 ausus est dicere, incerta regis voluntate; tandem Parmenio antea suasisse[1] ait, ut captivos apud Damascum redimentibus redderet,[2] ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex his, qui multorum vincti virorum
12 fortium occuparent manus. Et nunc magnopere censere, ut unam anum et duas puellas, itinerum agminumque impedimenta, xxx milibus talentum
13 auri permutet.[3] Opimum eum[4] regnum[5] occupare posse condicione, non bello, nec quemquam alium inter Histrum et Euphraten possedisse terras ingenti[6] spatio intervalloque discretas. Macedoniamque potius respiceret quam Bactra et Indos intueretur.

14 Ingrata oratio regi fuit; itaque, ut finem dicendi fecit: "Et ego," inquit, "pecuniam quam gloriam mallem, si Parmenio essem; nunc Alexander de paupertate securus sum et me non mercatorem
15 memini esse, sed regem. Nihil quidem habeo venale, sed fortunam meam utique non vendo. Captivos si placet reddi, honestius dono dabimus, quam pretio remittemus."

16 Introductis deinde legatis, ad hunc modum respon-

[1] suasisse *Budé;* suasissem *A.*
[2] redderet *Budé;* redderes *A.*
[3] permutet *A;* permutaret *Pichon.*
[4] eum *added by Hedicke, ed. min.*
[5] opimum regnum . . . (nunti)us (*xii. 5*), *lost in V.*
[6] ingenti *A;* ingentiore *Hedicke.*

[a] *Cf.* Amm. xix. 11. 6.
[b] The essential part of the reply, the effect of which is

wife may warn you that your compassion already has less scope than it had."

10 Alexander bade the envoys withdraw from the tent and referred the question to his council. For a long time no one ventured to say what he thought,
11 since the king's inclination was uncertain ; at last Parmenion said that he had before recommended the return of the prisoners taken at Damascus to those who wished to ransom them ; that a vast sum of money could have been realized from those men who, as bound captives, kept busy the hands of
12 many brave warriors. And that now too he strongly advised exchanging one old woman and two girls, a hindrance to their journeys and their marches, for
13 30,000 talents of gold. Alexander could acquire a rich realm by negotiation, not by war, and no other man had possessed the lands between the Danube and the Euphrates, lands whose limits were separated by an immense space[a] in between. Also he ought rather to look back upon Macedonia than fix his gaze on Bactra and the Indi.

14 Parmenion's speech was displeasing to the king ; accordingly, when he finished speaking, Alexander replied[b] : " I too should prefer money to glory, if I were Parmenion ; as it is, being Alexander, I am secure against poverty, and I remember that I am a
15 king, not a trader. I have nothing at all for sale but above all I do not put my fortune on the market ; if it is our desire that the prisoners be returned, we shall more honourably give them as a gift than ransom them for a price."

16 Then, having called in the envoys, he answered

weakened by Curtius' longer version, is given by Diod. xvii. 54. 5 ; Arr. ii. 25. 2-3 ; Plut. *Alex.* xxix. 4.

dit : " Nuntiate Dareo me, quae fecerim clementer et liberaliter, non amicitiae eius tribuisse, sed naturae
17 meae. Bellum cum captivis et feminis gerere non
18 soleo ; armatus sit oportet quem oderim. Quodsi saltem pacem bona fide peteret, deliberarem forsitan an darem. Verum enimvero, cum modo milites meos litteris ad proditionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet, ad internecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut iustus hostis, sed ut percussor[1] veneficus.

" Condiciones vero pacis quas affertis si accepero,
19 victorem eum faciunt. Quae post Euphraten sunt liberaliter donat. Ubi igitur me adeatis[2] nunc ipsum obliti estis. Nempe ultra Euphraten sum ; liberalissimum ergo dotis quam promittit terminum castra mea transeunt. Hinc me depellite, ut sciam vestrum esse
20 quo ceditis. Eadem liberalitate dat mihi filiam suam ; nempe quam scio alicui servorum eius nupturam. Multum vero mihi praestat, si me Mazaeo generum praeponit !
21 " Ite, nuntiate regi vestro, et quae amisit et quae adhuc habet praemia esse belli ; hoc regente utriusque terminos regni, id quemque habiturum quod
22 proximae lucis assignatura fortuna est." Legati respondent, cum bellum in animo sit, facere eum simpliciter quod spe pacis non frustraretur. Ipsos petere ut quam primum dimittantur ad regem ; eum

[1] percussor *Lauer;* perculsor *A.*
[2] adeatis *Hedicke;* adfatis *A.*

them after this fashion: "Announce to Darius that my acts of clemency and generosity were due, not to my friendship for him, but to my natural impulses.
17 To wage war with captives and women is not my
18 habit; he must be armed whom I hate. But if it were at least in good faith that he asks for peace, I might perhaps consider whether I would grant it. But, in solemn truth, since he now with letters tempts my soldiers to betray me, and now with money bribes my friends to kill me, I must pursue him to destruction, not as a legitimate enemy, but as an assassin who resorts to poison.

"Furthermore, as to the conditions of peace which you propose, if I accept them, they make him the
19 victor. He generously offers me what is beyond the Euphrates. You have forgotten then, where it is in fact that you now come to see me. Surely I am across the Euphrates! Therefore my camp is beyond the most liberal boundary of the dowry which he promises. Drive me from here, in order that I
20 may know that what you offer to cede is yours. With like generosity he gives me his daughter, who forsooth is the destined bride of one of his slaves. A high honour truly he confers upon me in preferring me to Mazaeus as a son-in-law!

21 "Go, report to your king that what he has lost and what he still possesses are prizes of war; since it is war that rules the boundaries of both realms, each will have what the fortune of to-morrow shall allot
22 to him." The envoys replied that since his intention was war, he was acting without guile in not deceiving them with the hope of peace. For their own part, they asked that they might be sent back as soon as possible to their king; that he also ought to

quoque bellum parare debere. Dimissi nuntiant adesse certamen.

XII. Ille quidem confestim Mazaeum cum tribus equitum milibus ad itinera quae hostis petiturus erat
2 occupanda praemisit. Alexander, corpori uxoris eius iustis persolutis, omnique graviore comitatu intra eadem munimenta cum modico praesidio relicto, ad
3 hostem contendit. In[1] duo cornua diviserat peditem,[2] utrique lateri[3] equite circumdato; impedi-
4 menta sequebantur agmen. Praemissum deinde cum suis[4] equitibus Menidan iubet explorare ubi Dareus esset. At ille, cum Mazaeus haud procul consedisset, non ausus ultra procedere, nihil aliud quam fremitum hominum hinnitumque equorum
5 exaudisse nuntiat. Mazaeus quoque conspectis procul exploratoribus in castra se recepit, adventus hostium nuntius.

Igitur Dareus, qui in patentibus campis decernere
6 optabat, armari militem iubet aciemque disponit. In laevo cornu Bactriani ibant equites, mille admodum, Dahae totidem, et Arachosii Susianique quattuor milia explebant. Hos centum falcati currus sequebantur. Proximus quadrigis erat Bessus cum VIII
7 milibus equitibus, item Bactrianis. Massagetae duobus milibus agmen eius claudebant. Pedites his

[1] In *added by Acidalius.*
[2] peditem *Acidalius;* peditum *A.*
[3] utrique lateri *I;* utrimque lateri *FP;* utrimque latera *BL.*
[4] suis *Hedicke;* scitis *C;* scytis *P;* citis *Freinshem.*

[a] That is, those of his camp, which he had strengthened by a ditch and a palisade; Arr. iii. 9. 1.
[b] The baggage animals and the non-combatants (Arr. iii. 9. 1), *i.e.* the sick and wounded, and any others not fit for

prepare for war. They were dismissed, and reported to Darius that battle was imminent.

XII. Darius at once sent on Mazaeus with 3000 horsemen to take possession of the roads which the 2 enemy was likely to make for. Alexander, after having paid the due rites to the body of Darius' wife, left within the same fortifications [a] with a garrison of moderate size the more burdensome part of his army [b] 3 and hastened against the enemy. He had divided the infantry into two wings and encircled each flank 4 with cavalry ; the baggage followed the army. Then he sent Menidas in advance with his cavalry,[c] with orders to find out where Darius was. But Menidas, when he found that Mazaeus had encamped near by, feared to advance farther and reported that he had heard nothing else save the noise of men and the 5 neighing of horses. Mazaeus too, when he caught sight of the scouts from afar, returned to his camp, announcing the coming of the enemy.

Therefore Darius, who wished to fight in open plains, ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and 6 drew up his line of battle. On his left wing were Bactrian cavalry, about 1000 in number, the Dahae,[d] of just the same number, and the Arachosii and the Susiani, 4000. These a hundred scythed chariots followed. Next to the chariots was Bessus with 8000 7 horsemen, who likewise were Bactriani. The Massagetae brought up his rear with 2000. To these he

service. The baggage followed the army; besides the following sentence, see iv. 13. 35 and iv. 15. 5.

[c] *Cf.* iv. 15. 12 ; Arr. iii. 12. 3 says that his cavalry were mercenaries.

[d] A Scythian people, dwelling beyond the Caspian Sea ; Amm. xxii. 8. 21 calls them *acerrimi omnium bellatores.*

plurium gentium non immixtos, sed suae cuiusque[1] nationis, iunxerat copias. Persas deinde cum Mardis Sogdianisque Ariobarzanes et Orontobates[2] duce-
8 bant. Illi partibus copiarum, summae Orsines praeerat, a septem Persis oriundus, ad Cyrum quoque,
9 nobilissimum regem, originem sui referens. Hos aliae gentes ne sociis quidem satis notae sequebantur. Post quas L quadrigas Phradates magno Caspiorum agmine antecedebat. Indi ceterique Rubri maris accolae, nomina verius quam auxilia, post currus
10 erant. Claudebatur hoc agmen aliis falcatis curribus, quis peregrinum militem adiunxerat. Hunc Armenii quos Minores appellant, Armenios Babylonii, utrosque Belitae et qui montes Cossaeorum[3] incolebant
11 sequebantur. Post hos ibant Gortuae, gentis[4] quidem Euboicae, Medos quondam secuti, sed iam degeneres et patrii moris ignari. Applicuerat his Phrygas et Cataonas. Parthyaeorum deinde gens incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent, claudebant agmen.

12 Haec sinistri cornus facies[5] fuit. Dextrum tenebant natio Maioris Armeniae Cadusiique et Cappa-

[1] cuiusque *Halm;* quisque *A.*
[2] Orontobates *Zumpt;* orionibates *A.*
[3] Cossaeorum *J. Froben;* quossaeorum *A.*
[4] gentis *Freinshem;* gentes *A.* [5] facies *I;* acies *A.*

[a] See Amm. xxiii. 6. 36, note; Val. Max. vi. 3, ext. 2; the seven are enumerated by Herodotus (iii. 70).
[b] See Eratosthenes in Strabo xi. 514 (782); Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 15. 17 (45-46). The form Caspiani also occurs.
[c] See iii. 2. 9, note *c.* [d] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 11. 7.
[e] That is, the people of Lesser Armenia.

had joined the infantry forces of many peoples, not mingled together, but each group arranged with the cavalry of its corresponding nation. Then Ariobarzanes and Orontobates led the Persians with the
8 Mardii and the Sogdiani. These men commanded divisions of the forces, in charge of the whole was Orsines, a descendant of the "seven Persians"[a] and tracing his genealogy also to Cyrus, that most re-
9 nowned king. These were followed by other nations, not very well known even to their allies. Phradates came after these nations, leading fifty four-in-hand chariots, with a large army of Caspii.[b] The Indi and the rest of the dwellers on the Red Sea,[c] mere names rather than auxiliaries, were behind the chariots.
10 The rear of this part of the army was brought up by other scythe-bearing chariots, to which he had joined the foreign soldiers.[d] These were followed by those who are known as the Lesser Armenians,[e] the Armenians by the Babylonians, and both by the Belitae and those who dwelt in the mountains of the Cossaei.[f]
11 After these marched the Gortuae, really a Euboean race,[g] who formerly followed the Medes, but were now degenerate and ignorant of their native customs. Next to these he put the Phrygians and the Cataonians. Then the Parthyaei, inhabiting the lands now held by the Parthians from Scythia, brought up the rear of the whole force.
12 Such was the form of the left wing.[h] The right was held by the nation of Greater Armenia with

[f] *Qui . . . incolebant*, another expression for the Cossaei, living between Media, Susiana, and Babylonia; *cf.* Arr. vii. 15. 1; Strabo xi. 13. 6 (524).

[g] Perhaps from Eretria; Hdt. vi. 119.

[h] For a better description of the order of battle see Arr. iii. 11. 3-7

13 doces et Syri ac Medi. His quoque falcati currus L erant. Summa totius exercitus, equites XLV milia, pedestris acies CC milia expleverat. Hoc modo instructi X stadia procedunt iussique subsistere armati hostem expectabant.

14 Alexandri exercitum pavor, cuius causa non suberat, invasit ; quippe lymphati trepidare coeperunt, omnium pectora occulto metu percurrente. Caeli fulgor tempore aestivo ardenti similis internitens ignis praebuit speciem, flammasque ex Darei castris splen-
15 dere velut illati temere praesidiis credebant. Quodsi perculsis Mazaeus, qui praesidebat itineri, supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit ; nunc, dum ille segnis in eo quem occupaverat tumulo sedet, conten-
16 tus non lacessi, Alexander cognito pavore exercitus signum ut consisterent dari, ante ipsos arma deponere ac levare corpora iubet, admonens nullam subiti
17 causam esse terroris, hostem procul stare. Tandem compotes sui pariter arma et animos recepere. Nec quicquam ex praesentibus tutius visum est quam eodem loco castra munire.

18 Postero die Mazaeus—cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra, consederat—sive metu, sive quia speculari
19 modo iussus erat, ad Dareum rediit. Macedones eum

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[a] The statement is neither clear nor probable; it was perhaps suggested by Plut. *Alex.* xxxi. 5.

[b] *Compotes sui* is contrasted with *lymphati*, iv. 12. 14.

the Cadusii, the Cappadocians, the Syrians, and the Medes. These also had fifty scythe-bearing chariots.
13 The sum of the entire army consisted of 45,000 cavalry, and the infantry numbered 200,000. Drawn up in this manner, they advanced ten stadia, and then, being ordered to halt under arms, awaited the enemy.
14 Alexander's army was seized by a panic, the reason for which was not apparent; for their hearts turned to water and they began to tremble, as a secret dread ran through the breasts of all. A gleaming of the heavens shining here and there, like that in the burning heat of summer, presented the appearance of fire, and they believed that fires were blazing from the camp of Darius, as if they had incautiously
15 come upon his guarding troops.[a] Now if Mazaeus, who was guarding the road, had fallen upon them in their panic, a great disaster might have been suffered; as it was, while he sat idle on the eminence of which he had taken possession, satisfied not to be
16 attacked, Alexander, becoming aware of the army's terror, ordered the signal for a halt to be given, and bade the soldiers lay down their arms in front of them and rest themselves, advising them that there was no cause for their sudden alarm, that the enemy
17 were at a distance. At length they came to their senses[b] and recovered alike their arms and their courage. And nothing seemed safer under the circumstances than to fortify a camp in that same place.
18 On the following day Mazaeus—he had taken position with the best of his cavalry on a high hill, from which the camp of the Macedonians was in sight—either through fear or because he had been ordered
19 merely to keep watch, returned to Darius. The Macedonians took possession of the very hill which he

ipsum collem quem deseruerat occupaverunt; nam et tutior planitie erat, et inde acies hostium, quae in
20 campo explicabatur, conspici poterat. Sed caligo, quam circa humidi effuderant montes, universae quidem[1] rei faciem non abstulit, ceterum agminum discrimina atque ordinem prohibuit perspici. Multitudo inundaverat campos, fremitusque tot milium
21 etiam procul stantium aures impleverat. Fluctuari animo rex et modo suum, modo Parmenionis consilium sera aestimatione perpendere; quippe eo ventum erat unde recipi exercitus nisi victor sine clade non posset.

22 Itaque dissimulato animo[2] mercennarium equitem
23 ex Paeonia[3] praecedere iubet. Ipse phalangem, sicut antea dictum est, in duo cornua extenderat; utrumque cornu equites tegebant. Iamque liquidior[4] lux discussa caligine aciem hostium ostenderat, et Macedones sive alacritate sive taedio expectationis ingentem pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis nemora vallesque circumiectas
24 terribili sono impleverat, nec iam contineri Macedones poterant quin cursu quoque ad hostem contenderent. Rex[5] melius adhuc ratus in eodem tumulo castra munire, vallum iaci iussit, strenueque opere perfecto, in tabernaculum, ex quo tota acies hostium conspiciebatur, secessit.

[1] universae quidem *Zumpt;* universam equidem *A.*
[2] animo *Jeep;* eo *A.* [3] Paeonia *Francine;* poenia *A.*
[4] liquidior *Hedicke;* nitidior *A.*
[5] Rex *added by Hedicke.*

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[a] The distance was thirty stadia; Arr. iii. 9. 2.
[b] See iv. 11. 14. [c] *Cf.* iv. 9. 24.
[d] The battle-field was at a considerable distance from the mountains.

had abandoned ; for it was safer than the plain, and from it the enemies' line of battle, which was being deployed on the level ground, could be observed.
20 But a mist, which the moist mountains had poured about, did not indeed cut off a general view, but did prevent the different divisions of the army and their arrangement from being made out. Their great number had flooded the plains, and the noise made by so many thousands had filled the ears even of
21 those who stood afar off.[a] The king began to waver in his determination, and to weigh his plan and that of Parmenion,[b] although it was now too late ; for they had come to a point from which the army could not be withdrawn without disaster, unless it were victorious.
22 Accordingly, concealing his feelings, he ordered the mercenary cavalry from Paeonia [c] to advance.
23 He himself, as was said before, had extended the phalanx into two wings, both of which were protected by cavalry. And now the mist had been dispelled, and the clearer light had revealed the army of the enemy, and the Macedonians, either from eagerness or from the tediousness of waiting, raised a mighty shout, after the manner of those engaged in battle. When this was returned by the Persians and had filled the surrounding forests and
24 valleys [d] with a fearsome sound, the Macedonians could no longer be restrained from hastening against the enemy on the run as well. But the king, thinking it still better to fortify a camp on that same hill, ordered a palisade to be set up, and when the work had been promptly completed, he withdrew to his tent, from which the whole army of the enemy was in sight.

XIII. Tum vero universa futuri discriminis facies in oculis erat; armis insignibus equi virique splendebant, et omnia intentiore cura praeparari apud hostem sollicitudo praetorum agmina sua interequitantium
2 ostendebat,[1] ac pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, equorum hinnitus, armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicitam[2] expectatione mentem turbaverant.
3 Igitur sive dubius animi sive, ut suos experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum factu esset ex-
4 quirens. Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli, furto, non proelio opus esse censebat. Intempesta nocte opprimi posse hostes; discordis moribus, linguis, ad hoc somno et improviso periculo territos,
5 quando in nocturna trepidatione coituros? At interdiu primum terribiles occursuras facies Scytharum Bactrianorumque; hirta illis ora et intonsas comas esse, praeterea eximiam vastorum magnitudinem corporum. Vanis et inanibus militem magis quam
6 iustis formidinis causis moveri. Deinde tantam multitudinem circumfundi paucioribus posse, cum[3] non in Ciliciae angustiis et inviis callibus, sed in aperta et lata planitie dimicarent.
7 Omnes ferme Parmenioni assentiebantur; Polypercon haud dubie in eo consilio positam victoriam
8 arbitrabatur. Quem intuens rex—namque Parmenionem, nuper acrius quam vellet increpitum, rursus

[1] ostendebat *Freinshem;* ostendebatur *A.*
[2] sollicitam *Giunta;* sollicita *A.*
[3] cum *added by Bentley.*

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[a] The composition of the council is given by Arr. iii. 9. 3.
[b] Varro, *Ling. Lat.* vi. 2. 7, *cf.* Sall. *Cat.* xxvii. 3.
[c] So also Justin xii. 12. The Greek writers have Πολυσπέρχων.

XIII. Then verily the entire vision of the coming peril was before his eyes; horses and men shone with splendid arms, and the concern of the generals, as they rode up and down among their lines, showed that on the side of the enemy everything was being
2 made ready with special care, and many trifling things, such as the noise of the men, the neighing of horses, the brilliance of arms shining here and there, had disturbed a mind already on edge with expecta-
3 tion. Therefore, either because he was really in doubt, or to try his officers, he called a council,[a]
4 inquiring what was best to be done. Parmenion, the most skilled among his generals in the art of war, gave it as his opinion that a surprise was better than an open battle. In the dead of night [b] the foe could be overwhelmed; being of discordant customs and languages, as well as terrified in their sleep by an unforeseen danger, when would they unite in the
5 confusion of an attack by night? But in the daytime the terrible aspect of the Scythians and the Bactriani would for the first time confront the Macedonians; their faces are shaggy and their hair unshorn, to say nothing of the enormous bulk of their huge bodies. Soldiers are affected more by vain and
6 trivial things than by reasonable causes of fear. Then too so great a multitude could surround their smaller numbers, since they were fighting, not in the narrow and inaccessible by-ways of Cilicia, but in an open and broad plain.

7 Almost all agreed with Parmenion; Polypercon [c] thought that victory undoubtedly depended upon
8 that plan. Alexander, looking solemnly at the latter —for he had lately chided Parmenion more severely than he wished and did not have the heart to upbraid

castigare non sustinebat—: "Latrunculorum," inquit, "et furum ista sollertia est quam praecipitis mihi;
9 quippe illorum votum unicum est fallere. Meae vero gloriae semper aut absentiam Darei aut angustias locorum aut furtum noctis obstare non patiar. Palam luce aggredi certum est; malo me[1] meae fortunae
10 paeniteat quam victoriae pudeat. Ad haec illud quoque accedit; vigilias agere barbaros et in armis stare, ut ne decipi quidem possint, compertum habeo. Itaque ad proelium vos parate." Sic incitatos ad corpora curanda dimisit.
11 Dareus id quod Parmenio suaserat hostem facturum esse coniectans, frenatos equos stare magnamque exercitus partem in armis esse ac vigilias intentiore cura servari iusserat; ergo ignibus tota eius castra
12 fulgebant. Ipse cum ducibus propinquisque agmina in armis stantium circumibat, Solem et Mithrem sacrumque et aeternum invocans ignem, ut illis dignam vetere gloria maiorumque[2] monumentis fortitudinem
13 inspirarent. Et profecto, si qua divinae opis auguria humana mente concipi possent, deos stare secum. Illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam incussisse formidinem, adhuc lymphatos ferri agique arma iacientes, expetere praesides Persarum imperii deos[3]
14 debitas e vaecordibus poenas. Nec ipsum ducem saniorem esse; quippe ritu ferarum praedam modo

[1] me *added in F.*
[2] maiorumque *Francine;* maioremque *A.* [3] deo *P.*

[a] See note on iii. 3. 21.
[b] The Persian Sun-god.

him again—said : " The craft which you recommend to me is that of petty robbers and thieves ; for their
9 sole desire is to deceive. I will not suffer my glory always to be impaired by the absence of Darius, or by confined places, or by deceit by night. I am determined to attack openly by daylight ; I prefer to regret my fortune rather than be ashamed of my
10 victory. Besides, this consideration too is added ; I am well aware that the barbarians keep watch by night and stand under arms, so that it is not really possible to deceive them. Therefore do you prepare for battle." When they had been thus aroused, he bade them take food and rest.

11 Darius, inferring that the enemy would do what Parmenion had advised, had ordered that the horses should stand bridled, that a great part of the army should be armed, and that night watch should be kept with unusually vigilant care ; therefore his
12 entire camp was aglow with fires. He himself with his generals and his relatives [a] rode about among the divisions as they stood under arms, calling upon the Sun and Mithras,[b] and the sacred and eternal fire, to inspire them with a courage worthy of their ancient
13 glory and the records of their forefathers. And surely, he said, if any tokens of divine aid could be read by mortal minds, the gods were on their side. It was they who had lately struck sudden panic into the minds of the Macedonians, who were still harried and hunted by frenzy and throwing away their arms, and the gods who watch over the Persian empire were about to inflict upon madmen the punish-
14 ment which they deserved. Nor was their leader himself saner than his men ; for after the manner of wild beasts, fixing his gaze only on the booty at

quam expeteret intuentem, in perniciem quae ante praedam posita esset incurrere.

Similis apud Macedones quoque sollicitudo erat; noctemque, velut in eam certamine edicto, metu
15 egerunt. Alexander, non alias magis territus, ad vota et preces Aristandrum vocari iubet. Ille in candida veste verbenas manu praeferens, capite velato, praeibat preces regi[1] Iovem Minervamque
16 Victoriam propitianti. Tunc quidem, sacrificio rite perpetrato, reliquum noctis acquieturus in tabernaculum rediit. Sed nec somnum capere nec quietem pati poterat; modo e iugo montis aciem in dextrum Persarum cornu demittere[2] agitabat, modo recta fronte concurrere hosti, interdum haesitare an potius
17 in laevum detorqueret agmen. Tandem gravatum animi anxietate corpus altior somnus oppressit.

Iamque luce orta duces ad accipienda imperia
18 convenerant, insolito circa praetorium silentio attoniti; quippe alias accersere ipsos et interdum morantes castigare assueverat, tunc ne ultimo quidem rerum discrimine excitatum esse mirabantur et non somno quiescere, sed pavore marcere credebant.
19 Non tamen quisquam ex custodibus corporis intrare tabernaculum audebat. Et iam tempus instabat, nec miles iniussu ducis aut arma capere poterat aut
20 in ordines ire. Diu Parmenio cunctatus, cibum ut

[1] regi *Acidalius;* regis *A.*
[2] demittere *J. Froben;* dimittere *A.*

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[a] Zeus and Athena Nicê, *cf.* viii. 2. 32; viii. 11. 24; in these two places we have *Minervae ac Victoriae* and *M. Victoriaeque*, perhaps rightly. Curtius regularly uses the Roman names; *cf.* iii. 7. 3.

[b] On this story see Diod. xvii. 56. 1; Plut. *Alex.* xxxii. 1; Arrian does not mention it.

which he was aiming, he was rushing upon the destruction behind which the booty lay.

There was like concern among the Macedonians also, and they passed the night in fear, as if that were
15 the time set for the battle. Alexander, never more alarmed, ordered that Aristander should be summoned for vows and prayers. The seer, in white robe, bearing in his hand the sacred branches, with veiled head led the king in prayers as he propitiated
16 Jupiter and Minerva Victoria.[a] Then at last, after a sacrifice had been duly performed, the king returned to his tent, to rest for the remainder of the night. But he could neither go to sleep nor endure repose; now he thought of sending his army from the crest of the mountain against the right wing of the Persians, now of meeting the enemy front to front, sometimes he hesitated whether he should not rather direct his
17 army against the left wing. At last a deeper sleep than usual[b] overcame his body, worn out as it was by anxiety of mind.

And now, at daybreak, the generals had assembled to receive their orders, amazed at the unwonted
18 silence around the king's tent; for at other times he had been wont to summon them, and sometimes to chide the tardy, now they marvelled that he was not aroused even at the final crisis of affairs, and believed that he was not resting in sleep, but wilting away
19 through fear. Yet none of the body-guard ventured to enter the tent; and already the time was at hand, and the soldiers without the order of the commander could neither arm themselves nor take their places
20 in the ranks.[c] Parmenion, after hesitating for a long

[c] For *in ordines ire cf.* vii. 1. 25; viii. 13. 27.

caperent ipse pronuntiat. Iamque exire necesse erat; tunc demum intrat tabernaculum saepiusque nomine compellatum, cum voce non posset, tactu
21 excitavit. "Multa lux," inquit, "est; instructam aciem hostis admovit, tuus miles adhuc inermis expectat imperium. Ubi est vigor ille animi tui? nempe excitare vigiles soles."
22 Ad haec Alexander: "Credisne[1] me prius somnum capere potuisse quam exonerarem animum sollicitudine quae quietem morabatur?" signumque pugnae
23 tuba dari iussit. Et cum in eadem admiratione Parmenio perseveraret,[2] quod solutum se curis somnum cepisse[3] dixisset: "Minime," inquit, "mirum est. Ego enim, cum Dareus terram ureret, vicos excinderet, alimenta corrumperet, potens mei non
24 eram; nunc vero quid metuam, cum acie decernere paret? Hercule, votum meum implevit. Sed huius consilii postea quoque ratio reddetur. Vos ite ad copias quibus quisque praeest, ego iam adero et quid
25 fieri velim exponam." Raro[4] admodum, admonitu magis amicorum quam metu discriminis adeundi, thorace uti solebat; tunc utique munimento corporis sumpto processit ad milites. Haud alias tam alacrem viderant regem et ex[5] vultu eius interrito certam spem victoriae augurabantur.
26 Atque ille, proruto vallo, exire copias iubet aciemque disponit. In dextro cornu locati sunt equites

[1] Credisne *Lauer;* credesne *A.*
[2] perseveraret *Giunta;* adseueraret *A.*
[3] cepisse *I;* coepisse *A.* [4] Raro *Lauer;* ratio *A.*
[5] ex *added by Acidalius.*

time, himself gave the order to take food. And already it was necessary to go forth; then at last Parmenion entered the tent, and after often calling the king often by name, when he could not waken him
21 with his voice, he did so by touching him. "It is broad daylight," said he, "the enemy is advancing in battle-array, your soldiers, still unarmed, await your command. Where is that vigour of mind of yours? Truly you are wont to wake the very watchmen."
22 To this Alexander replied: "Do you think that I could have gone to sleep before I had unburdened my mind of the care which was delaying my rest?" And he ordered the signal for battle to be given with
23 the trumpet. And when Parmenion continued to express no less surprise at his having said that he had slept free from care: "It is not at all strange," said he, "for when Darius was setting fire to the land, destroying villages, and ruining food-supplies,
24 I was beside myself; but now what have I to fear, when he is preparing to contend in battle? By Heaven, he has satisfied my heart's desire. But the reason for this feeling also shall be given later. Do you go to the forces which each of you commands. I will soon be present and will explain what I wish to
25 be done." Very rarely, rather at the advice of his friends than through fear of encountering danger, was Alexander in the habit of using a cuirass; on that occasion at any rate he put on a protection for his body, and went to his soldiers. Never before had they seen the king so joyful, and from his undaunted aspect they inferred a sure hope of victory.
26 And the king, after razing the palisade, ordered his forces to go forth, and arranged his line of battle. On the right wing were placed the horsemen whom they

quos agema appellabant; praeerat his Clitus, cui iunxit Philotae turmas, ceterosque praefectos equi-
27 tum lateri eius applicuit. Ultima Meleagri ala stabat, quam phalanx sequebatur. Post phalangem argyraspides erant; his Nicanor, Parmenionis filius,
28 praeerat. In subsidiis cum manu sua Coenus, post eum Orestae Lyncestaeque sunt positi,[1] post illos Polypercon, mox[2] peregrini milites. Huius agminis princeps Amyntas aberat[3]; Philippus Balacri eos regebat, in societatem nuper ascitus.[4]
29 Haec dextri cornus facies erat. In laevo Craterus Peloponnesium equites habebat Achaeorum et Locrensium et Malieon turmis sibi adiunctis. Hos Thessali equites claudebant Philippo duce. Peditum acies equitatu tegebatur. Frons laevi cornus haec
30 erat. Sed ne circumiri posset a multitudine, ultimum agmen valida manu cinxerat. Cornua quoque subsidiis firmavit non recta fronte, sed a latere positis, ut, si hostis circumvenire aciem temptasset, parata
31 pugnae forent. Hic Agriani erant, quibus Attalus praeerat, adiunctis sagittariis Cretensibus. Ultimos ordines avertit a fronte, ut totam aciem orbe muniret.

[1] positi *added by Foss.*
[2] mox *Haupt;* dux *A.*
[3] aberat *Hedicke;* erat *C;* erant *P m. pr.*
[4] adscitus *Zumpt;* adscitos *A.*

[a] The *agema* was a select body of cavalry serving as a body-guard, apparently the same as the *argyraspides* or "Silver-shields" mentioned in 27 below. Curtius' account is inaccurate; *cf.* Arr. iii. 11. 8 ff.; Diod. xvii. 57.

[b] See preceding note; silver arms are first mentioned in viii. 5. 4.

[c] Two Illyrian or Epirotic nations subject to Macedonia.

call the body-guard[a]; Clitus commanded these, and with them he joined the squadrons of Philotas, and on its flank put the rest of the commanders of cavalry.
27 Last stood the troop of Meleager, followed by the phalanx. Behind the phalanx were the Silver-shields,[b]
28 under command of Nicanor, son of Parmenion. In reserve were Coenus with his troops, and behind him the Orestae and Lyncestae,[c] after them Polypercon, and next the foreign forces. Of this body the leader Amyntas was not present[d]; Philippus (son of Balacrus) who had lately been received as an ally, commanded them.
29 Such was the form of the right wing. On the left Craterus led the cavalry of the Peloponnesians, and to these were joined the horsemen of the Achaeans, the Locrians, and the Malieis. The rear of these was brought up by the Thessalian cavalry, led by Philippus. The infantry force was protected by the
30 cavalry. This was the front of the left wing. But in order that it might not be surrounded by superior numbers, he had girt it in the rear[e] by a powerful force. He had strengthened the wings[f] also by reserves, placed not straight in front but on the flanks, in order that, if the enemy should try to surround the
31 line of battle, they should be ready to fight. Here were the Agriani, whom Attalus commanded, and joined with them the Cretan archers. The hindermost ranks he faced towards the rear, so as to fortify the whole battle-line by a circular formation.

[a] Amyntas, son of Andromenes. He had been sent to Macedonia, to enroll troops.

[c] An indefinite expression, which shows how far from clear Curtius was about the details; see Arr. iii. 12. 1.

[f] See Diod. xvii. 57. 5; Arr. iii. 12. 2.

Illyrii hic erant, adiuncto milite mercede conducto, Thracas quoque simul obiecerat leviter armatos.
32 Adeoque aciem versabilem posuit, ut qui ultimi stabant, ne circumirentur, verti tamen et in frontem circumagi possent. Itaque non prima quam latera, non latera munitiora fuere quam terga.
33 His ita ordinatis praecipit ut, si falcatos currus cum fremitu barbari emitterent, ipsi laxatis ordinibus impetum incurrentium silentio exciperent, haud dubius sine noxa transcursuros, si nemo se opponeret; sin autem sine fremitu immisissent, eos ipsi clamore terrerent pavidosque equos telis utrimque suffoderent.
34 Qui cornibus praeerant extendere ea iussi ita, ut nec circumvenirentur si artius starent, nec tamen ulti-
35 mam aciem exinanirent. Impedimenta cum captivis, inter quos mater liberique Darei custodiebantur, haud procul acie in edito colle constituit, modico praesidio relicto. Laevum cornu, sicut alias, Parmenioni tuendum datum, ipse in dextro stabat.
36 Nondum ad iactum teli perventum erat,[1] cum Bion quidam transfuga quanto maximo cursu poterat[2] ad regem pervenit, nuntians murices ferreos in terram

[1] perventum erat *Hedicke;* peruenerat *A*.
[2] poterat *I;* potuerat *A*.

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[a] Not mentioned by Arrian in this connexion.
[b] *Cf.* Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. 3. 19 *Alexander ad Arbela . . . aciem in omnem partem spectantem ordinavit, ut circumventi undique pugnare possent.*
[c] For what did happen *cf.* iv. 15. 17; Arr. iii. 13. 6.
[d] *Cf.* iv. 14. 8 *vanam* (=*inanem*) *aciem.*
[e] *Murex* is the same as *tribulus.* *Cf.* Veget. iii. 24 *tribulus*

Here were the Illyrians,[a] joined with the mercenary soldiers, and there he had also posted the light-armed
32 Thracians. And by his dispositions he made his army so mobile that those who stood in the rear to prevent encirclement could nevertheless, by a turning movement, be brought round to the front. Therefore the front was not better protected than the flanks, nor the flanks than the rear.[b]
33 When the army was thus arranged, he warned them, in case the enemy should make a great uproar as they sent forth their scythe-bearing chariots, to receive them in silence as they rushed upon them, and open their ranks (he had no doubt that they would pass through without doing harm, if no one opposed them)[c]; but if they sent them forth without noise, they themselves were to terrify them by shouting and with their javelins stab the frightened
34 horses from both sides at once. Those who commanded the wings were ordered to extend them in such a way that they might neither be surrounded by standing too close together, nor yet make the
35 rear ranks so thin[d] as to be ineffective. The baggage with the prisoners, among whom the mother and children of Darius were guarded, he placed not far from the field of battle upon a high hill, leaving a guard of moderate size. The left wing, as at other times, was given in charge to Parmenion, the king himself took his place on the right.
36 Not yet had they come within spear-range, when one Bion, a deserter, with all possible speed came to Alexander, reporting that Darius had spread iron caltrops planted[e] in the ground over which he be-

est quattuor palis confixum propugnaculum, quod, quomodo abieceris, tribus radiis stat et erecto quarto infestum est.

diffudisse[1] Dareum, qua hostem equites emissurum esse credebat, notatumque certo signo locum, ut
37 fraus evitari a suis posset. Asservari transfuga iusso, duces convocat expositoque quod nuntiatum erat, monet ut regionem monstratam declinent equitemque periculum edoceant.
38 Ceterum hortantem[2] exercitus exaudire non poterat, usum aurium intercipiente fremitu duorum agminum, sed in[3] conspectu omnium duces et proximum quemque interequitans alloquebatur: XIV. emensis tot terras in spem victoriae de qua dimicandum foret, hoc unum superesse discrimen. Granicum hic amnem Ciliciaeque montes et Syriam Aegyptumque praetereuntibus[4] raptas, ingentia spei gloriaeque
2 incitamenta, referebat. Reprehensos ex fuga Persas pugnaturos, quia fugere non possent. Tertium iam diem metu exangues, armis suis oneratos in eodem vestigio haerere. Nullum desperationis illorum maius indicium esse, quam quod urbes, quod agros suos urerent, quidquid non corrupissent hostium esse con-
3 fessi. Nomina modo vana gentium ignotarum ne extimescerent; neque enim ad belli discrimen pertinere, qui ab iis Scythae quive Cadusii appellarentur.[5]
4 Ob id ipsum quod ignoti essent, ignobiles esse; numquam ignorari viros fortes, at imbelles ex latebris suis erutos nihil praeter nomina afferre. Macedonas

[1] diffudisse *Hedicke;* diffodisse *C;* defodisse *P m. pr.*
[2] hortantem *Bentley;* hoc tamen *A.*
[3] in *added by Vindelinus.*
[4] praetereuntibus *Modius;* praeeuntibus *A.*
[5] appellarentur *Zumpt;* appellantur *A.*

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[a] *Ab iis* belongs in sense, not with the verb, but with *qui*; *cf.* Livy xxxv. 19. 5 *plures ab Romanis . . . cecidcrunt.*

lieved that his enemy would send forth his cavalry, and that the place had been marked by a clear sign, in order that the device might be avoided by his
37 own men. Alexander, after giving orders that the deserter should be guarded, called together his generals, and explaining what had been told, warned them to avoid the part which had been designated, and to inform the horsemen of the danger.
38 But when he began to encourage the army, they could not hear him, since the noise made by the two forces deafened them, but in the sight of all riding about among his generals and those who were nearest to him, he addressed them as follows: XIV. that after having traversed so many lands in the hope of the victory for which they must fight this one contest was left them. He recalled the Granicus River, the mountains of Cilicia, and Syria and Egypt, seized as they passed through, as great incentives to hope and
2 glory. The Persians, recalled from flight, would fight only because they could not run away. It was now the third day that pallid with fear and burdened by their arms they had remained fixed in the same spot. There was no surer sign of their desperation than that they were burning their cities and their fields, thereby having admitted that whatever they had not
3 ruined belonged to the enemy. They must not fear the merely meaningless names of unknown nations; for it had nothing to do with the result of the war who of their number [a] were called Scythians or who Cadusians. For the very reason that they were
4 unknown they were unrenowned; brave men were never unknown, but cowards dug out from their lurking places brought with them nothing but mere names. The Macedonians owed it to their valour

virtute assecutos ne quis toto orbe locus esset qui tales viros ignoraret.

5 Intuerentur barbarorum inconditum agmen; alium nihil praeter iaculum habere, alium funda saxa librare, paucis iusta arma esse. Itaque illinc plures
6 stare, hinc plures dimicaturos. Nec postulare se ut fortiter capesserent proelium, ni ipse ceteris fortitudinis fuisset exemplum; se ante prima signa dimicaturum. Spondere pro se tot cicatrices, totidem corporis decora; scire ipsos unum paene se praedae communis exsortem in illis colendis ornandisque
7 usurpare victoriae praemia. Haec se fortibus viris dicere. Si qui dissimiles eorum essent, illa fuisse dicturum; pervenisse eos[1] unde fugere non possent. Tot terrarum spatia emensis, tot amnibus montibusque post tergum obiectis, iter in patriam ad[2] penates manu esse faciendum.

Sic duces, sic proximi militum instincti sunt.

8 Dareus in laevo cornu erat magno suorum agmine, delectis equitum peditumque, stipatus contempseratque paucitatem hostis, vanam[3] aciem esse extentis
9 cornibus ratus. Ceterum, sicut curru eminebat, dextra laevaque ad circumstantia agmina oculos manusque circumferens: "Terrarum," inquit, "quas Oceanus hinc alluit, illinc claudit Hellespontus, paulo

[1] eos *P m. pr.*; eo *C*.
[2] ad *Hedicke*; et *A*.
[3] vanam *Lauer*; uariam *A*.

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[a] *Inconditum* refers to their being made up of nations with different languages and customs.

[b] *Cf.* ix. 7. 19; Sueton. *Vitell.* xv. 1 *iustae militiae commoda*; *Domit.* iv. 2 *pugnas iustarum classium*.

[c] According to Arrian (iii. 11. 5; iii. 13. 1), he was in the centre.

that there was no place in the whole world that was unacquainted with such men.

5 Let them but look at the heterogeneous[a] army of the barbarians; one had nothing but a javelin, another hurled stones from a sling, few had regular[b] arms. Hence on their side more men stand, on our
6 side more will fight. Nor did he demand that they should enter battle bravely unless he himself should set an example to the rest in valour; that he would fight before the foremost standards. Many scars—as so many ornaments to his body—were a warrant on his behalf; they themselves knew that he, almost alone, had no share in the common booty, but used the rewards of victory in honouring and enrich-
7 ing them. That these words he addressed to brave men; if there were any who were not of that kind, to them he would have said this: that they had come to a place from which they could not flee. That after traversing so many spacious lands, after so many rivers and mountains had been left in their way behind, they must make the journey to their native land and their homes by main force.

Thus the leaders, thus the nearest of the soldiers were inspired.

8 Darius was on his left wing,[c] closely surrounded by a great throng of his men, the elite of his infantry and cavalry, and he had scorned the enemy's small numbers, thinking that the extension of their wings made
9 their battle-line weak. Then, standing aloft, as he did, in his chariot, and turning his eyes and stretching out his hands right and left to the troops who stood about him, he said: "We, a short time since lords of the lands which on one side the Ocean laves, on the other the Hellespont embraces, must now

ante dominis,[1] iam non de gloria, sed de salute et, quod saluti praeponitis, libertate pugnandum est; hic dies imperium quo nulla amplius vidit aetas aut constituet aut finiet. Apud Granicum minima virium parte cum hoste certavimus, in Cilicia victos Syria poterat excipere, magna munimenta regni Tigris atque Euphrates erant. Ventum est eo unde pulsis ne fugae quidem locus est. Omnia tam diutino bello exhausta post tergum sunt; non incolas suos urbes, non cultores habent terrae. Coniuges quoque et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem, parata hostibus praeda, nisi pro carissimis pignoribus corpora opponimus.

12 "Quod mearum fuit partium, exercitum quem paene immensa planities vix caperet comparavi; equos, arma distribui, commeatus ne tantae multitudini deessent providi, locum in quo acies explicari posset 13 elegi. Cetera in vestra potestate sunt; audete modo vincere famamque, infirmissimum adversus fortes viros telum, contemnite. Temeritas est quam adhuc pro virtute timuistis; quae ubi primum impetum effudit, velut quaedam animalia emisso aculeo, tor- 14 pet.[2] Hi[3] vero campi deprehendere paucitatem quam Ciliciae montes absconderant. Videtis ordines raros, cornua extenta, mediam aciem exhaustam[4]; nam ultimi, quos locavit aversos, terga iam praebent. Obteri, mehercule, equorum ungulis possunt, etiam

[1] dominis *Bentley;* domini *A.*
[2] torpet *I;* torpent *C.* [3] Hi *Merula;* ii *A.*
[4] exhaustam *Hedicke;* vanam exhaustam.

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[a] Arr. i. 14. 4 says he had 20,000 cavalry and nearly as many infantry; Diod. xvii. 19. 4, 5, more than 10,000 cavalry, not less than 100,000 infantry; see also Plut. *Alex.* xvi. 7.

[b] An exaggeration; see v. 1. 5.

fight, not for glory, but for life, and for what you
10 value higher than life, for freedom ; this day will establish or end the greatest empire any age has seen. At the Granicus, we fought against the enemy with a very small part of our strength[a] ; in Cilicia, Syria could receive us in case we were defeated, and the Tigris and the Euphrates were mighty bulwarks of
11 our realm. ' We have come to the place where, if we are worsted, there is no room even for flight. Everything behind us has been consumed by so long a war[b] ; the cities do not have their inhabitants, the fields have no labourers. Our wives also and our children follow this army, an easy prey for the enemy unless we oppose our bodies in defence of our dearest pledges.

12 " So far as my duty is concerned, I have assembled an army which this almost boundless plain can hardly contain, I have distributed men and horses, I have seen to it that so vast a multitude may not lack supplies, I have chosen a place in which our army
13 can deploy. The rest is in your power ; only have courage to conquer, and scorn mere reputation, the weakest of weapons against brave men.[c] What you have heretofore feared as valour is rashness ; and when this has spent its first attack, it becomes weak, like some insects when they have ejected their sting.[d]
14 Moreover these plains have betrayed their small numbers, which the mountains of Cilicia had hidden. You see their thin ranks, their extended wings, their drained centre ; for those in the rear, whom he has faced outwards, are already turning their backs. They can be trampled down, by Heaven !, by the

[c] But on the effect of Alexander's fame *cf.* v. 13. 14.
[d] *Cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 18. 19 (59-60).

15 si nihil praeter falcatos currus emisero. Et bello vicerimus, si vicimus proelio. Nam ne illis quidem ad fugam locus est; hinc Euphrates, illinc Tigris prohibet inclusos.

16 "Et quae antea pro illis erant in contrarium versa sunt. Nostrum mobile et expeditum agmen est, illud praeda grave. Implicatos ergo spoliis nostris trucidabimus, eademque res et causa erit victoriae et 17 fructus. Quodsi quem e vobis nomen gentis movet, cogitet Macedonum illic arma esse, non corpora. Multum enim sanguinem invicem hausimus, et 18 semper gravior in paucitate iactura est. Nam Alexander, quantuscumque ignavis et timidis videri potest, unum animal est et, si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vaecors, adhuc nostro pavore quam 19 sua virtute felicius. Nihil autem potest esse diuturnum, cui non subest ratio. Licet felicitas aspirare videatur, tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit. Praeterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum sunt, et 20 Fortuna numquam simpliciter indulget. Forsitan ita dii fata ordinaverint, ut Persarum imperium, quod secundo cursu per ccxxx annos ad summum fastigium evexerant, magno motu concuterent magis quam affligerent admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanae,

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[a] Curtius' rhetoric leads him to be inaccurate; that he knew better is shown by iv. 14. 10.

[b] *Animal* is used in the philosophic sense; *cf.* Livy ix. 18. 8 (of Alexander) *quantalibet magnitudo hominis concipitur, animo unius tamen ea magnitudo hominis erit.*

[c] A round number; *cf.* vi. 4. 9; the accounts of the rules

hooves of our horses, even if I send forth nothing but
15 scythe-bearing chariots. And we shall have won the war, if we win the battle. For they too have no opportunity for flight; on the one side the Euphrates, on the other the Tigris[a] hems them in and checks them.
16 "Furthermore, what was before in their favour, is now changed to the opposite. Our army is easily moved and unencumbered, theirs is laden with plunder. Therefore, hampered as they are by spoils taken from us, we shall cut them to pieces, and the same thing will be the cause and the fruit of our
17 victory. But if the name of their nation affects any one of you, let him bear in mind that the arms of the Macedonians are there, but not their bodies. For we in our turn have drained plenteous blood, and loss is
18 always more serious in small numbers. As to Alexander, however great he may seem to the wavering and timid, he is but a single mortal,[b] and if you have any belief in me, a rash and mad one, as yet more fortunate because of our fear of him than because of
19 his own valour. But nothing can be lasting which is not supported by reason. Although the breeze of good luck may seem to blow, yet in the long run it is not sufficient support for rashness. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life are short and inconstant, and Fortune never shows indulgence without reserve.
20 Perhaps the gods have so directed the course of the fates, that the empire of the Persians, which in a successful career of 230 years[c] they had raised to the highest pinnacle, they might smite with a mighty shock merely and not lay it low, and that they might

of the kings from the time of Cyrus the Great give about the same figure.

21 cuius nimia in prosperis rebus oblivio est. Modo Graecis ultro bellum inferebamus; nunc in sedibus nostris propulsamus illatum. Iactamur invicem varietate fortunae. Videlicet imperium, quia mutuo affectamus, una gens non capit.

22 "Ceterum, etiam si spes non subesset, necessitas tamen stimulare deberet. Ad extrema perventum est. Matrem meam, duas filias, Ochum in spem huius imperii genitum, principes, illam subolem regiae stirpis, duces vestros reorum[1] instar vinctos habet; nisi quid in vobis spei[2] est, ego maiore mei parte captivus sum. Eripite viscera mea ex vinculis, restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipsi mori non recusatis, parentem, liberos; nam coniugem in illo carcere
23 amisi. Credite nunc omnes hos tendere ad vos manus, implorare patrios deos, opem vestram, misericordiam, fidem exposcere, ut compedibus, ut servitute, ut precario victu ipsos liberetis. An creditis aequo animo eis servire, quorum reges esse fastidiunt?

24 "Video admoveri hostium aciem; sed, quo propius discrimen accedo, hoc minus eis quae dixi possum esse contentus. Per ego vos deos patrios aeternumque ignem, qui praefertur altaribus, fulgoremque solis intra fines regni mei orientis, per aeternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque imperium

[1] reorum *Cuperus;* regum *A.*
[2] spei est *N. Heinse;* ipse *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Justin xvii. 2. 3 *ignarus prorsus non multo post fragilitatis humanae se ipsum exemplum futurum*; xxiii. 3. 12; Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 7. 10; *Paneg.* xxvii. 1.
[b] *i.e.* early in the 5th century.
[c] *Cf.* iii. 3. 9 and note; Amm. xxiii. 6. 34.
[d] *Cf. Paneg. Constantini* ix. 4 *ab Indis prope consciis*

thus remind us of human frailty,[a] which is too often
21 forgotten amid prosperity. Not long ago[b] we were waging an offensive war against the Greeks, now in our own lands we are resisting a war brought upon us. We in our turn are victims of Fortune's changes; of course this empire, since we both aspire to it, is too large for one nation to occupy!

22 "But even if hope were lost, yet necessity ought to spur us on. We have come to our extremest danger. My mother, two daughters, Ochus, born to the hope of this empire, our nobles, that offspring of royal stock, your leaders, he holds prisoners, like so many criminals. Unless there is some help in you, I am captive in my greater part. Rescue my flesh and blood from bonds; restore to me my dear ones, mother and children, for whom you yourselves do not refuse to die; as for my wife, I have lost her
23 in that prisonhouse. Believe that all these are now stretching out their arms to you, are imploring the gods of our fatherland, are demanding your aid, your pity, your loyalty, to free them from fetters, from slavery, from the dole of beggary. Or do you believe that they serve with calmness those whose rulers they disdain to be?

24 "I see the enemies' line advancing; but the nearer I come to the crisis, the less content can I be with the words which I have spoken. I conjure you by the gods of our fatherland, by the eternal fire[c] which is carried before me on altars, by the radiance of the sun whose rising is within the confines of my realm,[d] by the immortal memory of Cyrus, who was the first to take this empire from the Medes and Lydians and

solis orientis; *Paneg. Theodosii* xxiii. 1 *in ipsum solis cubile festinans.*

primus in Persidem intulit, vindicate ab ultimo de-
25 decore nomen gentemque Persarum. Ite alacres et spiritus pleni, ut quam gloriam accepistis a maioribus vestris posteris relinquatis. In dextris vestris iam libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit mortem, quisquis[1] contempserit; timidissi-
26 mum quemque consequitur. Ipse non patrio more solum, sed etiam, ut conspici possim, curru vehor, nec recuso quo minus imitemini me, sive fortitudinis exemplum sive ignaviae fuero."

XV. Interim Alexander, ut et demonstratum a transfuga insidiarum locum circumiret et Dareo, qui cornu tuebatur, occurreret, agmen obliquum incedere
2 iubet. Dareus quoque eodem suum obvertit, Besso admonito ut Massagetas equites in laevum Alexandri
3 cornu a[2] latere invehi iuberet. Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat; quos signo dato universos in hostem effudit. Ruebant laxatis habenis aurigae, quo plures
4 nondum satis proviso impetu obtererent. Alios ergo hastae multum ultra temonem eminentes, alios ab utroque latere demissae falces laceravere. Nec sensim Macedones cedebant, sed effusa fuga turbaverant
5 ordines. Mazaeus quoque perculsis metum incussit, mille equitibus ad diripienda hostis impedimenta circumvehi iussis, ratus captivos quoque qui simul

[1] quisquis *Vindelinus;* quisque *A.*
[2] a *added by Modius.*

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[a] *Cf.* Sall. *Cat.* lviii. 8 *memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem et patriam in dextris vostris portare.*

[b] *Cf.* Livy vii. 32. 12.

[c] The caltrops; see iv. 13. 36.

[d] This should be "right" instead of "left": *cf.* Arr. iii. 11. 6; iii. 13. 1.

brought it to Persia, save the name and nation of
25 the Persians from utter disgrace. Onward! full of
vigour and confidence, to leave to posterity the glory
which you received from your ancestors. In your
right hands [a] you now carry freedom, power, hope
for the future. Whoso has scorned death has escaped
26 it; every coward it overtakes. I myself, not only
because it is my country's custom, but also that I
may be seen of all, ride in a chariot, and you have
my permission to imitate me whether I prove to set
an example [b] of courage or of cowardice."

XV. Meanwhile Alexander, both in order to pass
around the place of the snares [c] pointed out by the
deserter, and also to encounter Darius, who was
guarding one wing, ordered his army to charge on a
2 slant. Darius also turned his army in the same
direction, having ordered Bessus to command the
horsemen of the Massagetae to charge Alexander's
3 left wing [d] on its flank. Darius himself had before him
the scythe-bearing chariots, all of which on a given
signal he poured upon the enemy. The charioteers
drove on at full speed, in order to trample down
4 greater numbers by a surprise attack. Therefore some
were cut to pieces by the spears that projected far
in advance of the pole, others by the scythes that
pointed downward on both sides. And the Mace-
donians did not give ground gradually, but in
scattered flight had thrown their ranks into disorder.[e]
5 Mazaeus also struck them with fear in their panic by
ordering his 1000 cavalry [f] to wheel about, in order
to plunder the enemy's baggage,[g] thinking that the

[a] An exaggerated statement; *cf.* Arr. iii. 13. 5.
[b] Diod. xvii. 59. 5 says there were 3000.
[c] *Cf.* iv. 13. 35.

asservabantur rupturos vincula, cum suos appropinquantes vidissent.

6 Non fefellerat Parmenionem, qui in laevo erat; propere igitur Polydamanta mittit, qui regi[1] et periculum ostenderet et quid fieri iuberet consuleret. 7 Ille audito Polydamante: "Abi, nuntia," inquit, "Parmenioni, si acie[2] vicerimus, non nostra solum nos recuperaturos, sed etiam quae hostium sunt 8 occupaturos. Proinde non est quod virium quicquam subducat ex acie, sed, ut me, ut Philippo patre dignum est, contempto sarcinarum damno, fortiter 9 dimicet." Interim barbari impedimenta turbaverant, caesisque plerisque custodum, captivi vinculis ruptis quidquid obvium erat quo armari possent arripiunt et aggregati suorum equitibus Macedonas ancipiti circumventos malo invadunt.

10 Laeti, qui circa Sisigambim erant vicisse Dareum ingenti caede prostratos hostis, ad ultimum etiam impedimentis exutos esse nuntiant; quippe eandem fortunam ubique esse credebant et victores Persas ad 11 praedam discurrisse. Sisigambis hortantibus captivis ut animum a maerore allevaret in eodem quo antea fuit perseveravit. Non vox ulla excidit ei, non oris color vultusve mutatus est; sedit immobilis—credo,

[1] regi *added by Hedicke.*
[2] acie *Lauer;* aciem *A.*

prisoners also who were being guarded would break their bonds, when they saw their countrymen approaching.

6 This move had not escaped the notice of Parmenion, who was on the left wing; therefore he hastily sent Polydamas to the king, both to notify him of the danger and to ask what he ordered to be done.
7 Alexander on hearing Polydamas said: "Go, report to Parmenion, that if we win the battle, we shall not only recover our own property, but shall seize what
8 belongs to the enemy. Therefore there is no need for him to lead off any of his forces from the battle-line, but, as is worthy of me and of my father Philip, let him scorn the loss of our packs and fight valiantly."
9 Meanwhile the barbarians had ransacked the baggage, and when many of the guards had been killed, the prisoners, freed from their bonds, seized whatever was at hand with which they could arm themselves, and having joined forces with the horsemen of their countrymen, fell upon the Macedonians, who were thus surrounded by a double danger.

10 Filled with joy, the attendants upon Sisigambis[a] reported that Darius had won, that the enemy had been overthrown with great bloodshed, and finally had even been stripped of their baggage; for they believed that the fortune of the battle was the same everywhere, and that the victorious Persians had dis-
11 persed to pillage. Sisigambis, when the prisoners urged her to free her mind from sorrow, remained in the same attitude as before. Not a word escaped her, neither her colour nor her expression changed; she sat unmoved—fearing, I suppose, by premature

[a] Darius' mother.

praecoqui gaudio verita irritare Fortunam—, adeo ut quid mallet intuentibus eam fuerit incertum.

12 Inter haec Menidas, praefectus equitum Alexandri, cum paucis turmis opem impedimentis laturus advenerat—est[1] incertum suone consilio an regis imperio—, sed non sustinuit Cadusiorum[2] Scytharumque impetum ; quippe vix temptato certamine refugit ad regem, amissorum impedimentorum testis magis
13 quam vindex. Iam consilium Alexandri dolor vicerat, et, ne cura recuperandi sua militem a proelio averteret non immerito verebatur ; itaque Areten, ducem hastatorum[3]—sarisophoros vocabant—adver-
14 sus Scythas mittit. Inter haec currus, qui circa prima signa[4] turbaverant aciem, in phalangem invecti erant ; Macedones confirmatis animis in medium
15 agmen accipiunt. Vallo similis acies erat ; iunxerant hastas et ab utroque latere temere incurrentium ilia suffodiebant. Circumire deinde et currus et pro-
16 pugnatores praecipitare coeperunt. Ingens ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem compleverat ; hi territos regere non poterant, qui crebra iactatione cervicum non iugum modo excusserant, sed etiam currus everterant, vulnerati interfectos trahebant,

[1] est *Hedicke;* et *A.*
[2] Cadusiorum *J. Froben;* Caucasiorum *A.*
[3] hastatorum *I;* astarum *A.*
[4] prima signa *Lauer;* signa prima *A.*

[a] Diod. xvii. 59. 7 adds : *τὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον εὐχαριστίαν λυμαινομένη.*

[b] Not a part of the phalanx, but mounted lance-bearers, armed with the same long spears.

[c] *Cf.* iv. 15. 4, with note.

rejoicing to offend Fortune [a]—, so much so that those who looked upon her were uncertain what her inclination was.

12 Meanwhile Menidas, Alexander's commander of cavalry, had come with a few squadrons to defend the baggage—whether on his own initiative or by the king's order is uncertain—, but he could not sustain the attack of the Cadusians and Scythians; for with hardly any attempt at battle he fled back to the king, a witness to the loss of the baggage and not
13 its rescuer. Already Alexander's resentment had changed his plan of action, and he feared with some reason that anxiety to recover their property might turn his soldiers from fighting; therefore he sent Aretes, leader of the lancers [b]—they call them *sari-*
14 *sophori*—against the Scythians. Meanwhile the chariots, which in the neighbourhood of the leading standards had thrown the army into confusion,[c] had charged upon the phalanx; the Macedonians with steady courage received them into the midst of their
15 column. Their line was like a rampart; they had made a continuous row of spears [d] together, and on both sides stabbed the flanks of the horses, as these rushed recklessly upon them. Then they began to encircle the chariots also and to hurl those who fought
16 in them to the ground. The great overthrow of horses and charioteers had filled the field of battle; the charioteers could not control their frightened horses, which by repeated tossing of their necks had not only thrown off their yokes, but had even overturned the chariots; when wounded, they dragged along the dead, and were unable to stop through

[d] Their shields, says Diodorus, who (xvii. 58. 3 f.) gives a more accurate and detailed account.

nec consistere territi nec progredi debiles poterant.
17 Paucae tamen evasere quadrigae in ultimam aciem, iis quibus inciderunt miserabili morte consumptis; quippe amputata virorum membra humi iacebant, et, quia calidis adhuc vulneribus aberat dolor, trunci quoque et debiles quidam[1] arma non omittebant, donec multo sanguine effuso exanimati procumberent.
18 Interim Aretes Scytharum qui impedimenta diripiebant duce occiso gravius territis instabat. Supervenere deinde a Dareo Bactriani pugnaeque vertere fortunam. Multi ergo Macedonum primo impetu obtriti sunt, plures ad Alexandrum refugerunt.
19 Tum Persae, clamore sublato qualem victores solent edere, ferociter in hostem quasi ubique[a] profligatum incurrerunt. Alexander territos castigare, adhortari, proelium, quod iam elanguerat, solus accendere; confirmatisque tandem animis, ire in hostem iubet.
20 Rarior acies erat in dextro cornu Persarum; namque inde Bactriani discesserant ad opprimenda impedimenta. Itaque Alexander laxatos ordines invadit et multa caede hostium invehitur.
21 At qui[2] in laevo cornu erant Persae, spe posse eum includi, agmen suum a tergo dimicantis opponunt; ingensque periculum in medio haerens adisset, ni equites Agriani, calcaribus subditis, circumfusos regi barbaros adorti essent aversosque caedendo in se

[1] quidam *N. Heinse;* quidem *A* (arma quidem *F*).
[2] at qui *I;* atque *A*.

[a] *Impedimenta* is personified; so also in iv. 15. 12, and elsewhere, as is shown by the expressions *opprimenda* and *opem laturus*.
[b] Since this is the same wing referred to four lines above, *laevo* is used in a partitive sense.

17 terror or to advance through weakness. Yet a few chariots-and-four made their way through to the rear, destroying those whom they met by a wretched death; for the severed limbs of men lay upon the ground, and since there was no pain while their wounds were still warm, maimed and weak though they were, some did not drop their weapons until they fell on their faces, dead from great loss of blood.
18 Meanwhile Aretes, having slain the leader of the Scythians who were plundering the baggage, was attacking them the more violently in their terror. Then the Bactriani came up, sent by Darius, and changed the fortune of the battle. Accordingly, many of the Macedonians were overwhelmed at the
19 first shock, still more fled back to Alexander. Then the Persians, raising a shout such as victors are wont to utter, charged fiercely upon the enemy, thinking that they had everywhere been put to flight. Alexander rebuked his frightened men, encouraged them, and single-handed gave fire to the battle, which had already slackened; and having at last restored their
20 courage, he bade them charge the enemy. The Persian force was weaker on the right wing; for the Bactriani had withdrawn from there to attack the baggage.[a] Alexander therefore attacked their thinned ranks and penetrated them with great slaughter of the enemy.
21 But the Persians who were on the left of the wing,[b] hoping that he could be surrounded, opposed their force to the rear of the embattled king; and caught between the two bands, he would have incurred extreme peril, had not the cavalry of the Agriani put spurs to their horses and attacked the barbarians thronging about him, and by slashing at their backs

22 obverti coëgissent. Turbata erat utraque acies. Alexander et a fronte et a tergo hostem habebat. Qui averso ei instabant, et ipsi[1] ab Agrianis equitibus premebantur. Bactriani, impedimentis hostium direptis, reversi ordines suos recuperare non poterant, plura simul abrupta a ceteris agmina, ubicumque
23 alium alii fors miscuerat, dimicabant. Duo reges, iunctis prope agminibus, proelium accenderant. Plures Persae cadebant, par ferme utrimque numerus
24 vulnerabatur. Curru Dareus, Alexander equo vehebatur. Utrumque[2] delecti tuebantur, sui immemores; quippe amisso rege nec volebant salvi esse nec poterant. Ante oculos sui quisque regis mortem occum-
25 bere ducebat egregium. Maximum tamen periculum adibant[3] quos maxime tuebantur; quippe sibi quisque caesi regis expetebat decus.

26 Ceterum, sive ludibrium oculorum sive vera species fuit, qui circa Alexandrum erant vidisse se crediderunt paulum super caput regis placide volantem aquilam, non sono armorum, non gemitu morientium territam, diuque circa equum Alexandri pendenti
27 magis quam volanti similis apparuit. Certe vates Aristander, alba veste indutus et dextra praeferens lauream, militibus in pugnam intentis avem mon-
28 strabat haud dubium victoriae auspicium. Ingens ergo alacritas et fiducia paulo ante territos accendit ad pugnam, utique postquam auriga Darei, qui ante

[1] ipsi *added by Hedicke.*
[2] Utrumque *Merula;* utrimque *A.*
[3] adibant *I;* adhibebant *A.*

[a] See Plut. *Alex.* xxxiii. 2.

22 compelled them to turn and face them. Both armies were confused. Alexander had the enemy both in front and behind him. Those who were assailing him from behind were themselves hard pressed by the cavalry of the Agriani. The Bactriani, returning after plundering the enemies' baggage, could not reform their ranks; many bands of troops at the same time, detached from the rest, were fighting wherever chance
23 had brought them together. The two kings, whose forces were almost joined as one, had given impetus to the contest. More of the Persians were falling; the number of wounded was about equal on both sides.
24 Darius rode in his chariot, Alexander on horseback. Both were defended by elite troops, regardless of their lives; for if their king were lost they did not wish to be saved, nor could they be. Each man thought it glorious to meet death before the eyes of
25 his king. Yet those experienced the greatest danger whom their men were most resolutely defending; for every man was seeking for himself the glory of slaying a king.
26 Now, whether it was an optical illusion[a] or a reality, those who were around Alexander believed that they saw a little above the king's head an eagle quietly flying, not terrified by the clash of arms, not by the groans of the dying, and for a long time it appeared around Alexander's horse, seeming rather to float in
27 the air than to fly. Certain it is that the seer Aristander, clad in a white robe and displaying a laurel wreath in his right hand, often pointed out a bird to the soldiers, who were intent upon fighting, as a
28 sure omen of victory. As a result, immense eagerness and confidence roused to battle those who shortly before were in terror, and especially so after Darius'

ipsum sedens equos regebat, hasta transfixus est. Nec aut Persae aut Macedones dubitavere quin ipse
29 rex esset occisus. Ergo lugubri ululatu et incondito clamore gemituque totam fere aciem adhuc aequo Marte pugnantium turbavere cognati Darei et armigeri. Laevumque cornu in fugam effusum destituerat currum, quem a dextra parte stipati in medium agmen receperunt.

30 Dicitur acinace stricto Dareus dubitasse an fugae dedecus honesta morte vitaret; sed eminens curru nondum omnem suorum aciem proelio excedentem
31 destituere erubescebat, dumque inter spem et desperationem haesitat, sensim Persae cedebant et laxaverant ordines. Alexander mutato equo—quippe plures fatigaverat—resistentium adversa ora fodiebat,
32 fugientium terga. Iamque non pugna, sed caedes erat, cum Dareus quoque currum suum in fugam vertit. Haerebat in tergis fugientium victor, sed prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris, quae ad caelum
33 efferebatur,[1] abstulerat; ergo haud secus quam in tenebris errabant, ad sonum notae vocis aut signum subinde coeuntes. Exaudiebant tamen strepitus habenarum, quibus equi currum vehentes identidem verberabantur; haec sola fugientis vestigia excepta sunt.

XVI. At in laevo Macedonum cornu—Parmenio, sicut ante est[2] dictum, tuebatur—longe alia fortuna

[1] efferebatur *N. Heinse;* referebatur *A.*
[2] est *added by Hedicke.*

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[a] Diod. xvii. 60. 2 says that he was slain by Alexander, with a javelin intended for Darius.

[b] On *cognati* see note on iii. 3. 14.

[c] *Cf.* iv. 15. 21. Curtius is not clear about the details of the battle; *cf.* Arr. 3. 14.

[d] iv. 13. 35.

charioteer, who sat in front of the king himself and guided his horses, was run through by a spear.[a] And neither the Persians nor the Macedonians had any
29 doubt that the king himself had been slain. Therefore the courtiers[b] and guards of Darius with mournful wailing and a medley of shouts and groans threw into confusion almost the entire line of those who were still fighting on equal terms. And the left wing had abandoned the chariot for headlong flight, and the close ranks on the right[c] received it into the midst of their array.

30 It is said that Darius, drawn scimitar in hand, hesitated whether to avoid the disgrace of flight by an honourable death; but standing as he was high in his chariot, he blushed to abandon the battle-line of his subjects, who were not yet all leaving the field,
31 and while he wavered between hope and despair, the Persians gradually gave ground and opened their ranks. Alexander, having changed his horse—for he had tired out several—was stabbing at the faces of those who stood their ground, the backs of those who
32 fled. And already it had ceased to be a battle and become a massacre, when Darius also turned his chariot to flee. The victor was close upon the backs of the fugitives, but the cloud of dust which rose to
33 the sky had made it impossible to see; therefore they wandered as if in the darkness of night, ever and anon coming together at the sound of a familiar voice or in response to a signal. Yet they made out the noise of the reins by which the horses which drew the chariot were constantly lashed; these were the only traces of the fleeing king that they had.

XVI. But on the left wing of the Macedonians—Parmenion, as was said before,[d] was in charge of it—the

utriusque partis res gerebatur. Mazaeus cum omni suorum equitatu vehementer invectus urgebat
2 Macedonum alas. Iamque abundans multitudine aciem circumvehi coeperat, cum Parmenio equites nuntiare iubet Alexandro, in quo discrimine ipsi essent; ni mature subveniretur, non posse sisti
3 fugam.[1] Iam multum viae praeceperat rex, imminens fugientium tergis, cum a Parmenione tristis nuntius venit. Refrenare equos iussi qui vehebantur, agmenque constitit, frendente Alexandro eripi sibi victoriam e manibus et Dareum felicius fugere quam se sequi.
4 Interim ad Mazaeum superati regis fama pervenerat; itaque, quamquam validior erat, tamen fortuna partium territus, perculsis languidius instabat.

Parmenio ignorabat quidem causam sua sponte pugnae remissae, sed occasione vincendi strenue est
5 usus. Thessalos equites ad se vocari iubet: "Ecquid videtis," inquit, "istos, qui ferociter modo instabant, pedem referre subito pavore perterritos? Nimirum nobis quoque regis nostri fortuna vicit. Omnia Persarum caede strata sunt. Quid cessatis? an ne
6 fugientibus quidem pares estis?" Vera dicere videbatur, et spes languentis[2] quoque erexerat; subditis calcaribus prorupere[3] in hostem. Et illi iam non

[1] fugam *I;* fuga *A.*
[2] languentis *P m. pr.;* languentes *C.*
[3] prorupere *Gronov;* proruere *A.*

fortune of the battle was far different on both sides. Mazaeus, who had furiously charged it with the entire cavalry force of his countrymen, was pressing hard
2 upon the flanks of the Macedonians. And already with his superior numbers he had begun to encircle their line, when Parmenion sent horsemen with orders to report to Alexander in what danger they themselves were ; unless he was speedily aided, he
3 could no longer hold his men from flight. The king, following hard upon the backs of the fugitives, had already advanced a long way, when the sad news came from Parmenion. The riders were ordered to rein in their horses, and the army came to a stop, while Alexander gnashed his teeth with rage that the victory was being snatched from his hands and that Darius was more fortunate in his flight than he in his
4 pursuit. Meanwhile the report of his king's defeat had come to Mazaeus ; therefore, although he was the stronger, yet alarmed by the ill-fortune of his side, he began to press less vigorously upon the terror-stricken Macedonians.

Parmenion naturally did not understand the reason for the voluntary slacking of the attack, but he promptly took advantage of the chance for victory.
5 He ordered the Thessalian cavalry to be summoned to him and said : " Do you see that those who just now were fiercely pressing on are giving ground, badly frightened by some sudden cause of fear ? No doubt the fortune of our king has won victory also for us. The Persians have all met defeat and carnage. Why do you hold back ? are you not a match even for
6 runaways ? " He seemed to speak truly, and hope had aroused even the laggards ; applying the spurs, they rushed upon the foe. And they gave way, no

sensim, sed citato gradu recedebant, nec quicquam fugae, nisi quod nondum terga verterant, deerat.
7 Parmenio tamen ignarus quaenam in dextro cornu fortuna regis esset repressit suos. Mazaeus, dato pugnae spatio, non recto itinere, sed maiore et ob id tutiore circuitu Tigrin superat et Babylona[1] cum reliquiis devicti exercitus intrat.
8 Dareus paucis fugae comitibus ad Lycum amnem contenderat; quo traiecto, dubitavit an solveret pontem. Quippe hostem iam adfore nuntiabatur. Sed tot milia suorum, quae nondum ad amnem pervenerant, ponte rescisso[2] videbat hostis praedam fore.
9 Abeuntem, cum intactum sineret pontem, dixisse constat malle se sequentibus iter dare quam auferre fugientibus. Ipse, ingens spatium fuga emensus, media fere nocte Arbela pervenit.
10 Quis tot ludibria Fortunae, ducum, agminum caedem multiplicem, devictorum fugam, clades nunc singulorum, nunc universorum, aut animo assequi queat aut oratione complecti? Propemodum saeculi res in unum illum diem, pro! Fortuna cumulavit.
11 Alii qua brevissimum patebat iter, alii devios[3] saltus et ignotas sequentibus calles petebant. Eques pedesque confusi sine duce, armatis inermes, integris
12 debiles implicabantur. Deinde, misericordia in me-

[1] Babylona *Zumpt;* babylonam *BP;* babilonam *FL;* babillonam *V.*
[2] rescisso *I;* reciso *A.* [3] devios *Jeep;* diuisos *C.*

[a] *Cf.* viii. 1. 48; Livy viii. 32. 14 *irae suae spatium dare.*

longer gradually, but at heightened speed, and were to all intent on flight, save that they had not yet
7 turned their backs. Yet Parmenion, being as yet unaware what the king's fortune had been on the right wing, held back his men. Mazaeus, although given opportunity [a] for battle, crossed the Tigris, not in a direct course but in a greater and hence safer detour, and entered Babylon with the survivors of the defeated army.

8 Darius with a few companions of his flight had hastened to the river Lycus ; after crossing it he hesitated whether to break down the bridge. For it was announced that the enemy would soon be there. But he saw that so many thousands of his men, who had not yet reached the river, would fall prey to the
9 enemy if the bridge were destroyed. As he went away, leaving the bridge intact, he is reliably reported to have said that he preferred to give a passage to his pursuers rather than take one away from those who were in flight. He himself, having covered a great distance in his flight, arrived in Arbela at about midnight.

10 Who would be able to comprehend in thought, or express in words, so many of fortune's mockeries—the great slaughter of leaders and their forces, the flight of the vanquished, the disasters, now to individuals and now to all in general? Alas! Fortune piled up the events of almost a generation in that one day.
11 Some took the shortest way that offered, others sought remote woods and paths unknown to their pursuers. Horse and foot in confusion were intermingled, without a leader, the unarmed with the
12 armed, the unhurt with the weak. Then pity gave place to fear, and those who could not follow

tum versa, qui sequi non poterant inter mutuos gemitus deserebantur. Sitis praecipue fatigatos et saucios perurebat, passimque omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora, praeterfluentem aquam hianti ore
13 captantes. Quam cum avide turbidam hausissent, tendebantur extemplo praecordia premente limo, resolutisque et torpentibus membris, cum super-
14 venisset hostis, novis vulneribus excitabantur. Quidam, occupatis proximis rivis, deverterant longius, ut quidquid occulti humoris usquam manaret exciperent, nec ulla adeo avia et sicca lacuna erat, ut vestigan-
15 tium[1] sitim falleret. E proximis vero itineri vicis ululatus senum feminarumque exaudiebantur, barbaro ritu Dareum adhuc regem clamantium.
16 Alexander, ut supra dictum est, inhibito suorum impetu, ad Lycum amnem pervenerat, ubi ingens multitudo fugientium oneraverat pontem, et plerique, cum hostis urgeret, in flumen se praecipitaverant, gravesque armis, et proelio ac fuga defetigati, gur-
17 gitibus hauriebantur. Iamque non pons modo fugientes, sed ne amnis quidem capiebat agmina sua improvide subinde cumulantis ; quippe ubi intravit animos pavor, id solum metuunt quod primum for-
18 midare coeperunt. Alexander instantibus suis ne impune abeuntem hostem intermitteret[2] sequi, hebetia esse tela et manus fatigatas tantoque cursu corpora exhausta et praeceps in noctem diei tempus
19 causatus est, re vera de laevo cornu, quod adhuc in

[1] vestigantium *Lauer;* castigantium *A.*
[2] intermitteret *Jeep;* permitteret *A.*

[a] *Cf.* Amm. xvii. 7. 7, where this seems to be the meaning, rather than that only those who were abandoned implored aid.
[b] That is, in this case, capture by the enemy.

were abandoned to their fate amid mutual laments.[a]
Burning thirst tormented especially the wearied and
the wounded, and they threw themselves down every-
where at all the brooks, and open-mouthed caught
13 the water that flowed by. Since they had eagerly
drunk of it when it was turbid, at once their bellies
were so painfully distended by the weight of the mud,
that their limbs were weakened and numbed, and
when the enemy came up they were aroused by fresh
14 wounds. Some, finding the nearest streams occupied,
had turned farther aside, to get whatever hidden
water trickled anywhere, and there was no pool so
remote or so dry as to elude the thirst of the
15 searchers. And from the villages nearest to the
road the shrieks of old men and women could be
heard, who in the barbarian manner were still calling
on Darius as their king.
16 Alexander, having checked the onset of his men, as
was said before, had come to the river Lycus, where
the vast number of fugitives had loaded the bridge,
and many, when hard pressed by the enemy, had
thrown themselves into the river and, weighed down
by their arms and exhausted by fighting and by
17 flight, had been swallowed up in the flood. And
finally, to say nothing of the bridge, not even the
river could contain the fugitives, who blindly con-
tinued to pile troop upon troop ; for when panic has
entered men's minds, they fear only what they first
18 began to dread.[b] Alexander, urged by his men not
to cease pursuing those who were making good their
escape, pleaded in excuse that their weapons were
blunted, their arms wearied, and their bodies ex-
hausted by so much running, and that the time of
19 day was close upon nightfall ; but actually being

acie stare credebat, sollicitus, reverti ad ferendam opem suis statuit.

Iamque signa converterat, cum equites a Parmenione missi illius quoque partis victoriam nuntiant.
20 Sed nullum hoc die[1] maius periculum adiit[2] quam dum copias reducit in castra. Pauci eum et incompositi sequebantur, ovantes victoria—quippe omnes hostes aut in fugam[3] effusos aut in acie cecidisse credebant—,
21 cum repente ex adverso apparuit agmen equitum, qui primo inhibuere cursum, deinde, Macedonum paucitate conspecta, turmas in obvios concitaverunt.
22 Ante signa rex ibat, dissimulato magis periculo quam spreto. Nec defuit ei perpetua in dubiis rebus
23 felicitas. Namque praefectum equitatus, avidum certaminis et ob id ipsum incautius in se ruentem, hasta transfixit; quo ex equo lapso, proximum ac
24 dein plures eodem telo confodit. Invasere turbatos amici quoque. Nec Persae inulti cadebant; quippe non universae acies quam hae tumultuariae manus
25 vehementius iniere certamen. Tandem barbari, cum obscura luce tutior fuga videretur esse quam pugna, dispersis agminibus abiere. Rex extraordinario periculo defunctus, incolumis[4] suos reduxit in castra.
26 Cecidere Persarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, milia XL, Macedonum minus quam
27 CCC desiderati sunt. Ceterum hanc victoriam rex

[1] hoc die *Hedicke;* hodie *A*.
[2] adiit *Modius;* adit *P m. pr.;* addidit (accidit *in marg.*) *C*.
[3] fugam *Vindelinus;* fuga *A*.
[4] incolumis *Eberhard;* in columes *A*.

[a] *Cf. tumultuariae manus*, Livy xxi. 8. 7; xxi. 16. 4.
[b] But see Arr. iii. 15. 6 and Diod. xvii. 61. 3.

anxious about the left wing, which he believed to be still standing in line of battle, he resolved to turn back and give aid to his men.

And he had already turned about, when horsemen sent by Parmenion reported the victory of that part
20 of the army also. But no greater peril did the king encounter on that day than while he was leading his forces back to the camp. He was followed only by a disorderly handful, exulting in their victory—for they believed that all the enemy had been completely put
21 to flight or had fallen in battle—when on a sudden a troop of cavalry appeared before them, who at first checked their course, then, seeing the small number of the Macedonians, drove their squadrons against
22 them. The king was marching at the head of his men, making light of the danger rather than scorning it. And in fact his constant good fortune in
23 times of danger did not fail him. For when the leader of the horsemen rushed upon him, eager for battle and for that reason incautious, the king ran him through with his spear; and when he fell from his horse, Alexander killed the next man and then
24 several others with the same weapon. His friends also attacked the disorganized enemy. But the Persians did not fall unavenged, for the entire armies did not enter battle more furiously than these
25 irregular [a] troops. At length the barbarians, when the dim light made flight seem safer than fighting, withdrew in scattered groups. The king, safe and sound after being quit of extraordinary danger, led his men back to camp.

26 There fell of the Persians, so far as the victors could determine the number, 40,000 [b]; of the Macedonians
27 less than 300 were lost. Moreover, the king owed

maiore ex parte virtuti quam fortunae suae debuit;
28 animo non, ut antea, loco vicit. Nam et aciem peritissime instruxit et promptissime ipse pugnavit et magno consilio iacturam sarcinarum impedimentorumque contempsit, cum in ipsa acie summae rei videret esse discrimen, dubioque adhuc pugnae eventu
29 pro victore se gessit. Perculsos deinde hostis ut[1] fudit, fugientes, quod in illo ardore animi vix credi potest, prudentius quam avidius persecutus est.
30 Nam si, parte exercitus adhuc in acie stante, instare cedentibus perseverasset, aut culpa sua victus esset aut aliena virtute vicisset. Iam si multitudinem equitum occurrentium extimuisset, victori aut foede fugiendum aut miserabiliter cadendum fuit.
31 Ne duces quidem copiarum sua laude fraudandi sunt. Quippe vulnera quae quisque excepit indicia
32 virtutis sunt; Hephaestionis brachium hasta ictum est, Perdicca et Coenus et Menidas sagittis prope
33 occisi. Et, si vere aestimare Macedonas qui tunc erant volumus, fatebimur et regem talibus ministris et illos tanto rege fuisse dignissimos.

[1] hostis ut *Bentley;* hostium *A*.

this victory in greater part to his merit than to his fortune; he won it by his genius, not, as before, by
28 the advantage of the ground. For he drew up his line of battle with the utmost skill, he personally fought most valiantly, and with great good judgement he scorned the loss of packs and baggage, since he saw that the issue of ultimate success depended upon his line of battle, and while the result of the fight was still in doubt, he conducted himself as a victor.
29 Then, when he had routed the panic-stricken foe he pursued them in their flight with greater prudence than over-eagerness, a thing which can hardly be
30 believed in a man of such fiery spirit. For if, while a part of his army was still engaged in battle, he had persisted in pressing after them as they gave way, he would either have been defeated through his own fault, or he would have owed his victory to another's valour. Finally, if he had yielded to fear of the large force of cavalry which fell upon him he would have been forced, in the hour of victory, either to flee in disgrace or to perish miserably.
31 The leaders of his forces too must not be cheated of their meed of glory; in fact the wounds which each
32 man suffered are proofs of their valour; Hephaestion was struck in the arm by a spear, Perdiccas and Coenus and Menidas were all but slain with arrows.
33 And if we wish justly to estimate the Macedonians of that day, we shall admit that their king was fully worthy of such subordinates, and they of so great a king.

BOOK V

CONTENTS OF BOOK V

Darius on reaching Arbela encourages his friends, but sets out for Media in order to collect more forces from his provinces. Alexander takes Arbela with rich spoils. He goes on to Babylon, Mazaeus surrendering it. Babylon; demoralization of the army (i).

Alexander offers prizes for a contest in military valour, makes changes in military discipline. He takes Susa with its treasures. He consoles Sisigambis, Darius' mother, whom he [illegible] offended (ii).

[illegible] the Uxii, sparing their governor and the prisoners at Sisigambis' request, and sets them free. He attempts to enter Persia, but is checked by Ariobarzanes at the Susian Gates (iii).

A prisoner shows Alexander a difficult but little known way through the mountains. He destroys the Persian force; Ariobarzanes himself is killed (iv).

Alexander takes Persepolis and sets free 4000 Greek prisoners, who had been shamefully ill-treated and mutilated. Some of these wish to be sent to Greece, others to be given homes in Asia. The king grants both requests and treats them all generously (v).

Alexander plunders Persepolis and Parsagada, both rich in treasure. He makes his way into the interior of Persia with great difficulty, subdues the Mardi; their customs. He returns to Persepolis (vi).

Alexander's dissipation at Persepolis. At the instigation of a courtesan he burns the palace. The Macedonians and finally the king himself are ashamed of his action, but endeavour to justify it (vii).

Darius had reached Ecbatana. From there he had decided to go to Bactra, but alarmed by Alexander's speed, he

changes his plan. He addresses his troops, trying to encourage them for a final contest (viii).

As the result of Darius' speech his generals express various opinions. Nabarzanes, who had formed a treasonable plot with Bessus, advises him to turn over the rule temporarily to Bessus. Darius was on the point of killing Nabarzanes, but he and Bessus escaped. Artabazus and the Greeks troop support Darius (ix).

Bessus and Nabarzanes plan to betray or imprison Darius, skilfully concealing their design (x).

Their plot is revealed to Darius. He rejects the protection of the Greek troops, being ready to die if his own countrymen do not wish for his safety (xi).

Bessus, deceiving Darius by false words and forced tears, seizes him, binds him in golden fetters, and places him in a common cart (xii).

Alexander hears of Darius' danger and hastens to his rescue. Bessus and his accomplices, fearing capture, stab Darius and take to flight, killing the animals and the slaves. Alexander sends Nicanor with a part of the cavalry in pursuit and follows with the rest; about 3000 were killed; the rest taken prisoner. A Macedonian soldier finds Darius (xiii).

Darius thanks the gods that he does not die alone; also thanks the man who found him; sends a message to Alexander, wishing him a glorious life on the throne of Cyrus and praying him to punish the assassins.

LIBER V

I. Quae interim ductu imperioque Alexandri vel in Graecis vel Illyriis ac Thraecia gesta sunt, si suis quaeque temporibus reddere voluero, interrumpendae
2 sunt res Asiae, quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darei universas in conspectum[1] dari et, sicut inter se cohaerent, ita opere ipso coniungi haud[2] paulo aptius videri potest. Igitur, quae proelio apud Arbela coniuncta sunt, ordiar dicere.
3 Dareus media fere nocte Arbela pervenerat, eodemque magnae partis amicorum eius ac militum
4 fugam Fortuna compulerat. Quibus convocatis exponit haud dubitare se quin Alexander celeberrimas urbes agrosque omni copia rerum abundantes petiturus esset ; praedam opimam paratamque ipsum et
5 milites eius spectare. Id suis rebus tali in statu saluti fore ; quippe se deserta cum expedita manu petiturum. Ultima regni sui adhuc intacta esse ;
6 inde bello vires haud aegre reparaturum. Occuparet sane gazam avidissima gens et ex longa fame satiaret

[1] conspectum *Modius;* conspectu *A.*
[2] haud *I;* aut *A.*

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[a] Because the baggage and a force of some size to guard it was posted in Arbela ; see iv. 9. 9.
[b] On *paratam cf.* iv. 14. 11.

BOOK V

I. If I should wish to describe, each in its own time, all that was done meanwhile under the lead and by the command of Alexander either among the Greeks or among the Illyrians and in Thrace, I should have
2 to interrupt the course of events in Asia, which, especially up to the flight and death of Darius, might seem far more fittingly to be presented as a whole, and just as they form a continuous series, so they should be joined together in my own work. Accordingly, I shall begin by telling of the events connected with the battle at Arbela.
3 Darius had reached Arbela at about midnight, and Fortune had driven to the same spot [a] the flight of
4 a great part of his friends and of his soldiers. Having called these together, he explained to them that he had no doubt that Alexander would make for the most populous cities and the lands abounding in supplies of every kind; that the Macedonian king and his soldiers had an eye to a rich and easily
5 acquired [b] booty. This under present conditions would prove to be the salvation of his own fortunes; for he himself intended to go to the deserts with a lightly equipped band. The remote parts of his realm were still untouched, and from them he would
6 without difficulty get together forces for war; by all means let that most insatiable race seize his

se auro, mox futura praedae sibi ; usu didicisse pretiosam supellectilem pelicesque et spadonum agmina nihil aliud fuisse quam onera et impedimenta. Eadem trahentem Alexandrum, quibus rebus antea vicisset inferiorem fore.

7 Plena omnibus desperationis videbatur oratio ; quippe Babylona,[1] urbem opulentissimam, dedi cernentibus[2] : iam Susa, iam cetera ornamenta regni,
8 causam[3] belli, victorem occupaturum. At ille docere pergit non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse ; ferro geri bella, non auro, viris, non urbium tectis. Omnia sequi armatos ; sic maiores suos, perculsos in principio rerum, celeriter
9 pristinam reparasse fortunam. Igitur, sive confirmatis eorum animis, sive imperium magis quam consilium sequentibus, Mediae fines ingressus est.
10 Paulo post Alexandro Arbela traduntur, regia supellectile ditique gaza repleta ; IIII milia talentum fuere, praeterea pretiosae vestes, totius, ut supra dictum est, exercitus opibus in illam sedem congestis.
11 Ingruentibus deinde morbis, quos odor cadaverum totis iacentium campis vulgaverat, maturius castra movit. Euntibus a parte laeva Arabia, odorum fer-

[1] Babylona *Zumpt;* babylonam *BLP;* babilonam *F;* babyllonam *V.*

[2] cernentibus *Giunta;* certantibus *A.*

[3] causam *Hedicke;* causamque *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Livy i. 23. 7 *si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt.*

[b] See iv. 9. 9.

[c] This cannot refer to Arabia proper or to the whole march, unless Curtius was led astray by faulty maps. But this is unlikely. Between the Euphrates and Tigris were the Arabes Orei (Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 26. 30 (117)) and Arabes Scenitae (Strabo vi. 1. 26 (747)). Mention of these in Curtius'

treasure and glut itself with gold, for which it had long hungered—a race soon to fall a prey to itself! he himself had learned from experience that costly equipment and concubines and trains of eunuchs were nothing else than burdens and hindrances. Alexander, dragging these same clogs after him, would be inferior by reason of the very fruits of his victory.

7 This speech seemed to all to be full of desperation; for they saw that Babylon, that richest of cities, was being abandoned; presently Susa, presently the other ornaments of the realm, the cause for the war, would
8 be seized by the victor. But Darius went on to show them that in times of adversity it was not at what was splendid to tell of,[a] but at what was of actual service, that one must aim; that wars were waged with steel, not with gold, with men, not with the buildings of cities. Everything fell to those who were armed; thus their forefathers, though in the beginning defeated, had speedily recovered their
9 former fortune. And so, whether he had strengthened their courage, or they yielded to his command rather than to his judgement, he entered the territories of Media.

10 A little later Arbela was surrendered to Alexander, filled with the king's equipment and with rich treasure; there were 4000 talents in money, besides costly raiment, since, as was said before,[b] the wealth of the entire army was concentrated in that spot.
11 Then, because of the increasing diseases, which the stench of the dead bodies lying over all the plains had spread abroad, he speedily moved his camp. As they went on, Arabia was on their left hand,[c] a region

sources probably caused him to add something (about perfumes) which is really applicable to Arabia proper only.

12 tilitate nobilis regio ; campestre iter est in terra[1] inter Tigrin et Euphraten iacenti, tam uberi et pingui ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat. Causa fertilitatis est humor qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter venas aquarum resudante.

13 Ipsi amnes ex Armeniae montibus profluunt ac[2] magno deinde aquarum divortio iter quod coeperunt percurrunt ; II milia et quingenta stadia emensi sunt qui amplissimum intervallum circa Armeniae montes
14 notaverunt. Idem cum Mediam et Gordyaeorum[3] terram secare coeperunt, paulatim in artius coeunt et, quo longius manant, hoc angustius inter se spatium
15 terrae relinquunt. Vicini[4] maxime sunt in campis quos incolae Mesopotamiam appellant; mediam namque ab utroque latere cludunt. Tandem[5] per
16 Babyloniorum fines in Rubrum mare irrumpunt. Alexander quartis castris ad Mennim urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est ex qua fons ingentem bituminis vim effundit, adeo ut satis constet Babylonios muros ingentis operis huius fontis bitumine interlitos esse.

[1] in terra *added by Koehler.* [2] ac *Freinshem;* a *A.*
[3] Gordyaeorum *Bentley;* gordiaeorum *A.*
[4] Vicini *Lauer;* uicina *A.*
[5] Tandem *Freinshem;* eadem *A.*

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[a] This rare word occurs intransitively only here and in vii. 10. 3 ; it is used transitively by Prudentius (*Apoth.* 787 ; *Cath.* x. 105).

[b] *Cf.* Sallust in Isid. *Orig.* xiii. 21. 10 ; on *divortium* Livy xxxviii. 45. 3 ; Amm. xv. 4. 3.

[c] Modern geographers make it less; so also Strabo xv. 3. 6 (729) ; xvi. 1. 21 (746).

[d] Originally an adjective; *cf.* Arr. v. 25. 4, of Syria. The

12 famous for its abundance of perfumes; the route is through plains in the land lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, which is so fertile and rich, that the flocks are said to be kept from feeding there, for fear that they may die of satiety. The reason for its fertility is the moisture which oozes from both rivers, and almost the whole soil sweats[a] because of the veins of water.

13 The rivers themselves flow forth from the mountains of Armenia, and then with a wide separation[b] of their waters continue the course which they have begun. Those who have noted the greatest extent of the space between them in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Armenia have made its measure
14 2500 stadia.[c] When these same rivers have begun to cut through Media and the land of the Gordyaei, they little by little come closer together, and the farther they flow, the narrower is the breadth of land that
15 they leave between them. They are closest together in the plains which their inhabitants call Mesopotamia[d]; for they shut this in between them on both sides. Finally, passing through the territories of the
16 Babylonii, they burst into the Red Sea.[e] Alexander arrived on his fourth day's march at the city of Mennis.[f] In that place there is a cavern from which a spring pours out so vast an amount of bitumen that it is a well-known fact that the walls of Babylon, a prodigious work, are cemented with bitumen from that spring.[g]

name was not formed by its inhabitants, but taken over from the Greek geographers.

[e] *i.e.* the Persian Gulf (*Sinus Persicus*).

[f] Otherwise unknown; its site near Kerkuk is indicated by the bitumen springs.

[g] *Cf.* v. 1. 25 and 29. Less accurately, Amm. xxiii. 6. 23.

17 Ceterum Babylona procedenti Alexandro Mazaeus, qui ex acie in eam urbem confugerat, cum adultis liberis supplex occurrit, urbem seque dedens. Gratus adventus eius regi fuit ; quippe magni operis obsidio 18 futura erat[1] tam munitae urbis. Ad hoc vir illustris et manu promptus, famaeque etiam proximo proelio celebris, et ceteros ad deditionem suo[2] incitaturus exemplo videbatur. Igitur hunc quidem benigne 19 cum liberis excipit ; ceterum quadrato agmine, quod ipse ducebat, velut in aciem irent,[3] ingredi suos iubet.

Magna pars Babyloniorum constiterat in muris avida cognoscendi novum regem, plures obviam 20 egressi sunt. Inter quos Bagophanes, arcis et regiae pecuniae custos, ne studio a Mazaeo vinceretur, totum iter floribus coronisque constraverat, argenteis altaribus utroque latere dispositis, quae non ture 21 modo, sed omnibus odoribus cumulaverat. Dona eum sequebantur greges pecorum equorumque, leones quoque et pardales caveis praeferebantur. 22 Magi deinde suo more carmen canentes, post hos Chaldaei Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant ; laudes hi regum canere soliti, Chaldaei siderum motus et 23 statas vices temporum ostendere. Equites deinde

[1] erat *added in A.*
[2] suo *Damsté;* sui *A.*
[3] aciem irent *Modius;* acie migrent *A* (atie migrans *V*).

[a] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 16. 3 ; Sen. *Epist.* lix. 7 ; Amm. xxix. 5. 39.

17 Now, as Alexander kept on his way to Babylon, Mazaeus, who had fled to that city from the battle-field, met him as a suppliant with his mature children, and surrendered the city and himself. His coming was welcome to the king; for the siege of so strongly
18 fortified a city would have been a great task. Moreover, it was evident that a man of distinction and ready action, who had also gained widespread reputation in the recent battle, would by his example induce the rest to surrender. Therefore the king
19 received him courteously with his children; but he ordered his men to enter the city in square formation,[a] with himself at their head, as if they were going into battle.

A great part of the Babylonians had taken their places on the walls in their eagerness to become acquainted with their new king, still more had gone
20 out to meet him. Among the latter Bagophanes, guardian of the citadel and of the royal funds, in order not to be outdone in alacrity by Mazaeus, had strewn the whole road with flowers and garlands, and had placed here and there on both sides silver altars, which he had piled high, not only with frankincense,
21 but with perfumes of all kinds. As gifts there followed him herds of horses and cattle; lions and leopards too were carried before them in cages.
22 Then came the magi,[b] chanting a hymn after their manner, after them the Chaldeans, and of the Babylonians not only their prophets, but also musicians with their own kind of instruments; the latter were accustomed to sing the praises of the kings, the Chaldeans, to explain the movements of the heavenly bodies and the appointed changes of the seasons.

[b] *Cf.* Amm. xxiii. 6. 32-36.

Babylonii, suo equorumque cultu ad luxuriam magis quam ad magnificentiam exacto, ultimi ibant.

Rex armatis stipatus oppidanorum turbam post ultimos pedites ire iussit; ipse cum curru urbem ac deinde regiam intravit. Postero die supellectilem Darei et omnem pecuniam recognovit.

24 Ceterum ipsius urbis pulchritudo ac vetustas non regis modo, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet haud immerito convertit. Samiramis[1] eam condiderat, non, ut plerique credidere, Belus, cuius regia ostendi-
25 tur. Murus instructus laterculo coctili, bitumine interlito,[2] spatium XXX et duorum pedum in[3] latitudinem amplectitur; quadrigae inter se occurrentes
26 sine periculo commeare dicuntur. Altitudo muri L cubitorum eminet spatio; turres denis pedibus quam murus altiores sunt. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXV[4] stadia complectitur; singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse memoriae proditum est. Aedificia non sunt admota muris, sed
27 fere spatium iugeri unius absunt. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt—per LXXX stadia habitabatur—, nec omnia continua sunt, credo quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. Cetera serunt coluntque, ut, si externa vis ingruat,[5] obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur.

[1] Samiramis *Vogel;* sameramis *A*.
[2] interlito *Hedicke;* interlitus *A*.
[3] in *added by Freinshem.*
[4] CCCLXV *Brisson;* CCCLXVIII *A*.
[5] ingruat *Lauer;* ingrauat *A* (ingrauit *B m. pr.*).

[a] *Cf.* viii. 5. 3.
[b] *Cf.* Amm. xxiii. 6. 23. Belus founded the citadel, Semiramis the city.
[c] On the dimensions *cf.* Hdt. i. 178.
[d] The orders were to finish it in a year; Diod. ii. 8. 1.

23 Lastly followed the Babylonian cavalry, whose apparel and that of their horses met the demands of luxury rather than of magnificence.[a]

Alexander, surrounded by armed men, had ordered the throng of townspeople to march after the hindermost of the infantry; he himself entered the city in a chariot, and then entered the palace. On the following day he inspected Darius' furniture and all his wealth.

24 But the beauty and antiquity of the city itself drew to it the eyes, not only of the king, but also of all, and deservedly. Semiramis had founded[b] it, not, as many have believed, Belus, whose palace is still pointed out.

25 Its wall, built of small baked brick, cemented with bitumen covers a space of thirty-two feet in width; it is said that two four-horse chariots can meet and

26 pass each other without risk. The wall rises to a height of fifty cubits[c]; the towers are ten feet higher than the walls. The circuit of the entire work embraces 365 stadia[d]; there is a tradition that the building of each stade was finished in a single day. The edifices of the city are not brought close to the walls, but are distant from them about the space of

27 one iuger.[e] And they have not occupied the whole city either with houses—eighty stadia are occupied by these—and they are not all continuous, I suppose because it seemed safer for them to be scattered over numerous places. The spaces which remain they sow and cultivate, in order that, if a force from without should assail them, supplies may be furnished to the besieged from the soil of the city itself.

[e] 28,800 square feet. Diod. ii. 7. 5 says a road two plethra, or about 200 feet, in width. The two statements cannot be reconciled.

28 Euphrates interfluit magnaeque molis crepidinibus coercetur. Sed omnium operum magnitudinem circumveniunt cavernae, ingentem[1] in altitudinem pressae ad accipiendum impetum fluminis : quod ubi appositae crepidinis fastigium excessit, urbis tecta corriperet, nisi essent specus lacusque qui exciperent.
29 Coctili laterculo structi sunt, totum opus bitumine adstringitur. Pons lapideus flumini impositus iungit urbem. Hic quoque inter mirabilia Orientis opera numeratus est. Quippe Euphrates altum limum vehit, quo penitus ad fundamenta iacienda egesto,[2] vix suffulciendo[3] operi firmum reperiunt solum ;
30 harenae autem, subinde cumulatae et saxis quis pons sustinetur annexae, morantur amnem, qui retentus acrius quam si libero cursu mearet illiditur.
31 Arcem quoque ambitu[4] xx stadia complexam habent. xxx pedes in terram turrium[5] fundamenta demissa sunt, ad LXXX summum munimenti fastigium
32 pervenit. Super arcem, vulgatum Graecorum fabulis miraculum, pensiles horti sunt, summam murorum altitudinem aequantes multarumque arborum umbra

[1] ingentem *Hedicke;* ingentes *A*.
[2] iacienda egesto *B m. sec.*, *P m. sec.;* iaciendo geste *A*.
[3] suffulciendo *B;* sufficiendo *A* (suf- *V*).
[4] ambitu *Vindelinus;* ambitus *A*.
[5] turrium *Lauer;* trium *A*.

[a] See Diod. ii. 7. 4; Hdt. i. 180 : and accounts of modern travellers in Mützell's edition. Ker Porter (in Mützell) says that Diodorus and Curtius describe it as built of courses of sun-dried bricks encased with mortar and bitumen, which is not true of the latter, and that he traced courses of such bricks. He thinks that its use was chiefly confined to the foundations and lower parts of the Chaldean buildings. He found the sun-dried bricks that were mixed with chopped straw or broken reeds equal in solidity to the hardest stone.

28 The Euphrates flows through Babylon and is held in check by embankments,[a] massive works of great labour. Moreover, all these great works are surrounded by artificial hollows, sunk to a vast depth to meet the rush of the river; for when it has risen above the top of the embankment built against it, it would damage the buildings of the city, if there were
29 no hollows and pools to receive it. These are built of baked brick [b] and the entire work is cemented with bitumen. A bridge of stone built over the river connects the two parts of the city. This also is counted among the marvels of the Orient. For the Euphrates carries a depth of mud, and even when this was dug out far into the river for laying the foundations, they could with difficulty find firm ground for supporting the
30 work; moreover, sand, which is piled up from time to time and adheres to the piers by which the bridge is supported,[c] slows down the course of the river, which, being thus held back, is dashed against the bridge with greater violence than if it flowed [d] in an unimpeded course.

31 They have a citadel also, surrounded by a circuit of twenty stadia.[e] The foundations of its towers are sunk thirty feet in the earth, and the top of its
32 fortification rises to a height of eighty feet. On the top of the citadel are the hanging gardens, a wonder [f] celebrated in the tales of the Greeks, equalling the extreme height of the walls and made charming by

[b] See note *a*.

[c] *Cf.* Diod. ii. 8. 2, who makes no mention of the sand.

[d] *Meare* is a poetic word.

[e] So also Diod. ii. 8. 6.

[f] It is named among the "Seven Wonders of the World" by Gell. x. 18. 4, note.

33 et proceritate amoeni. Saxo pilae, quae totum onus sustinent, instructae sunt, super pilas lapide quadrato solum stratum est patiens terrae, quam altam iniciunt, et humoris, quo rigant terras ; adeoque validas arbores sustinet[1] moles, ut stipites earum VIII cubitorum spatium crassitudine aequent, in L pedum altitudinem emineant frugiferaeque[2] sint, ut si terra
34 sua alerentur. Et, cum vetustas non opera solum manu facta, sed etiam ipsam naturam paulatim exedendo perimat, haec moles, quae tot arborum radicibus premitur tantique nemoris pondere onerata est, inviolata durat ; quippe XX pedes[3] lati parietes sustinent XI pedum intervallo distantes, ut procul visentibus silvae montibus suis imminere videantur.
35 Syriae regem Babylone regnantem hoc opus esse molitum memoriae proditum est, amore coniugis victum, quae desiderio nemorum silvarumque in campestribus locis virum compulit amoenitatem Naturae genere huius operis imitari.
36 Diutius in hac urbe quam usquam constitit rex, nec alio loco disciplinae militari magis nocuit. Nihil urbis eius corruptius moribus, nihil ad irritandas
37 illiciendasque inmodicas cupiditates instructius. Liberos coniugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur.

[1] sustinet *Bentley;* sustinent *A*.
[2] frugiferaeque *Halm;* frugiferae aeque *C;* frugifera aeque *P m. pr.* [3] pedes *added by Müller.*

[a] *Cf.* Diod. ii. 10 ; also on other details. [b] *Cf.* v. 4. 8.
[c] Syria for Assyria. [d] *Cf.* Livy xxx. 14. 6-7.

33 the shade of many lofty trees. Columns of stone were set up to sustain the whole work, and on these was laid a floor of squared blocks, strong enough to hold the earth which is thrown upon it to a great depth, as well as the water with which they irrigate the soil; and the structure supports trees of such great size that the thickness of their trunks equals a measure of eight cubits.[a] They tower to a height of fifty feet, and they yield as much fruit as if they were
34 growing in their native soil. And although lapse of time gradually undermines and destroys, not only works made by the hand of man, but also those of Nature herself, this huge structure, although worked upon by the roots of so many trees and loaded with the weight of so great a forest, endures unchanged; for it is upheld by cross walls twenty feet wide at intervals of eleven feet, so that to those who look upon them from a distance real woods seem to be over-
35 hanging their native mountains.[b] There is a tradition that a king of Syria,[c] who ruled in Babylon, undertook this mighty task, induced by love for his wife, who from longing for the woods and groves of the level country prevailed upon her husband to imitate the charm of Nature by a work of this kind.

36 King Alexander stayed in this city longer than anywhere else, and nowhere did he do more harm to the discipline of his soldiers. Nothing is more corrupt than the habits of that city, nothing more inclined to arouse and attract dissolute desires.[d]
37 Fathers and husbands allow their children and wives to prostitute themselves to their guests, provided a price is paid for their shame. Convivial festivals[e]

[e] See Brisson, *De Regio Persarum Principatu*, Index *s.v. ludi convivales.*

Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt, Babylonii maxime in vinum et quae ebrie-
38 tatem sequuntur effusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quaeque amicula exuunt paulatimque pudorem profanant, ad ultimum—honos auribus habitus sit—ima corporum velamenta proiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque,[1] apud quas[2] comitas habetur vulgati
39 corporis vilitas. Inter haec flagitia exercitus ille domitor Asiae per XXXIIII dies saginatus, ad ea quae sequebantur discrimina haud dubie debilior futurus fuit, si hostem habuisset.

Ceterum, quo minus damnum sentiret,[3] identidem
40 incremento renovabatur. Namque Amyntas Andromeni ab Antipatro Macedonum peditum VI milia
41 adduxit, D praeterea eiusdem generis equites, cum his DC Thracas, adiunctis peditibus suae gentis III milibus D, et ex Peloponneso mercennarius miles ad IIII milia advenerat cum trecentis octoginta equitibus.
42 Idem Amyntas adduxerat L principum Macedoniae liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis. Quippe inter epulas hi sunt regibus[4] ministri idemque equos ineuntibus proelium admovent venantesque comitantur et vigiliarum vices ante cubiculi fores servant; magnorumque praefectorum et ducum haec incrementa sunt et rudimenta.

43 Igitur rex, arci Babylone Agathone praesidere

[1] virginumque *Barth;* uirorumque *A*.
[2] quas *Barth;* quos *A*.
[3] sentiret *Modius;* sentirent *A*.
[4] regibus *Vogel;* regis *A*.

[a] *Cf.* Quint. *Decl.* iii. 2 (p. 59); Cic. *Ad Fam.* ix. 22. 4.
[b] On the numbers *cf.* vii. 1. 40; Diod. xvii. 65. 1.

throughout all Persia are dear to the kings and their courtiers; but the Babylonians in particular are lavishly devoted to wine and the concomitants of
38 drunkenness. The women who take part in these feasts are in the beginning modestly attired, then they take off their outer garments one by one and gradually disgrace their modesty, at last—with due respect to your ears [a]—they throw aside the inmost coverings of their bodies. This shameful conduct is not confined to courtesans, but is practised by matrons and maidens, with whom the baseness of
39 prostitution is regarded as courtesy. After being pampered for thirty-four days amid such debaucheries, that army which had conquered Asia would undoubtedly have been weaker to face the dangers which followed, if it had had an enemy.

But so as to make the damage less noticeable, it was recruited from time to time by a reinforcement.
40 For Amyntas, son of Andromenes, brought 6000 Macedonian foot-soldiers from Antipater, besides 500
41 cavalry of the same nation,[b] with these 600 Thracian horsemen, accompanied by 3500 infantry of their people, and from the Peloponnesus about 4000 mer-
42 cenaries had arrived with 380 horsemen. The same Amyntas had brought fifty adult sons of Macedonia's chief men for a body-guard; for these wait upon the kings at table, bring them their horses when they go to battle, attend them at the chase, and stand guard in turn before the doors of their bedroom; and these duties are the novitiate and training-school of great prefects and generals.

43 Accordingly the king,[c] after appointing Agathon

[c] The following is a summary of the account in Diod. xvii. 64. 6 ff.; *cf.* also Arr. iii. 16. 4 and iii. 16. 10.

iusso[1] cum septingentis Macedonum trecentisque mercede conductis, praetores, qui regioni Babyloniae ac Ciliciae praeessent, Meneta et Apollodorum relinquit. II milia his militum cum mille talentis data; utrique praeceptum ut in supplementum milites
44 legerent. Mazaeum transfugam satrapea[2] Babylone[3] donat, Bagophanem, qui arcem tradiderat, se sequi iussit, Armenia Mithreni, Sardium proditori, data est.
45 Ex pecunia deinde Babylone[4] tradita Macedonum equitibus sesceni denarii tributi; peregrinus eques quingenos accepit, ducenos[5] pedes domesticus, mercennarius duorum[6] stipendium mensum.

II. His ita compositis in regionem quae Sittacene[7] vocatur pervenit, fertilis terra copia rerum et omni
2 commeatu abundans. Itaque diutius ibi substitit ac, ne desides otio demitterent[8] animos, iudices dedit praemiaque proposuit de virtute militari certantibus
3 nova[9]; qui fortissimi iudicati essent singulis militum milibus praefuturi erant—chiliarchas vocabant—tunc primum in hunc numerum copiis distributis; namque antea quingenariae cohortes fuerant nec fortitudini[10]

[1] praesidere iusso *I;* praesides eius eo *P m. pr.*, praeside eius iusso *V;* praeside esse iusso *BFL.*
[2] satrapea *Vindelinus;* satrape *A* (sataope *V*).
[3] Babylone *A;* babilone *L.*
[4] Babylone *Vogel;* babyloniae *A.*
[5] ducenos *Cunze;* duceni *A* (ducē *P m. pr.*).
[6] domesticus, mercennarius du(orum) *added by Hedicke;* trium *A.*
[7] Sittacene *Glareanus;* satrapene *or* satrapaene *A.*
[8] demitterent *J. Froben;* dimitterent *A.*
[9] nova *Hedicke;* novem *A.* *See p. 345 note* e.
[10] fortitudini *Bentley;* fortitudinis *A.*

to command the citadel of Babylon with 700 Macedonians and 300 mercenaries, left Menes and Apollodorus as governors in charge of the region of Babylonia and Cilicia. To these 2000 soldiers and a thousand talents were given ; and both were ordered to levy
44 additional troops. He presented Mazaeus, the deserter, with the satrapy at Babylon, and ordered Bagophanes, who had surrendered the citadel, to follow him ; Armenia was given to Mithrenes, the
45 betrayer of Sardis.[a] Then from the money handed over at Babylon there were assigned to each of the horsemen of the Macedonians 600 drachmae ; the foreign cavalry received 500 each, the Macedonian infantry 200 apiece, and the mercenaries pay for two months.

II. After these affairs were thus arranged, Alexander came into the region which is called Sittacenê, a fertile land abounding in wealth of commodities and
2 in all kinds of supplies.[b] For that reason he remained there longer than usual, and that the soldiers might not through leisure and idleness become less spirited, he appointed judges and offered to those who wished to enter a contest in military valour prizes of a new
3 kind[c] ; those who should have been judged the bravest were each to command a troop of 1000 men—they called them *chiliarchae*—this being the first time that the forces were divided into that number ; for previously there had been *lochoi* consisting of 500 men, and the prizes of command had not gone to bravery.[d]

[a] *Cf.* iii. 12. 6 ; Arr. i. 17. 3 ; Diod. xvii. 21. 7.
[b] The general statement is followed by a definite one.
[c] On *nova* see p. 345 note *e*.
[d] That is, not solely, but the appointments were made partly on the basis of noble birth.

praemia cesserant.[1] Ingens militum turba convenerat egregio interfutura certamini, testis eadem cuiusque factorum et de iudicibus latura sententiam; quippe verone an falso honos cuique haberetur ignorari non poterat. Primus omnium virtutis causa donatus est Atarrhias senior, qui omissum apud Halicarnason a iunioribus proelium unus maxime accenderat, proximus ei Antigenes visus est, tertium locum Philotas Augaeus[2] obtinuit, quartus Amyntae datus, post hos Antigonus et ab eo Lyncestes Amyntas fuit, septimum locum Theodotus, ultimum obtinuit Hellanicus.

In disciplina quoque militari relicta[3] a maioribus pleraque summa utilitate mutavit. Nam cum ante equites in suam quisque gentem discriberentur seorsus a ceteris, exempto nationum discrimine, praefectis non utique suarum gentium, sed delectis attribuit. Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum dabat, cuius sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu exoriente haud satis exaudiebatur; ergo perticam, quae undique conspici posset, supra praetorium statuit, ex qua signum eminens[4] pariter omnibus conspicuum observabatur, ignis noctu, fumus interdiu.

[1] cesserant *Acidalius;* gesserant *A.*
[2] Augaeus *Modius;* augheus *A.*
[3] militari relicta *Hedicke;* militaris rei *A.*
[4] eminens *Hedicke;* eminebat *A.*

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[a] That is, whether their decisions were fair.

[b] See viii. 1. 36, where he is called *senex*; Diod. xvii. 27. 1. On the difficulty of taking Halicarnassus see Diod. xvii. 24-25; Arr. i. 20-23.

[c] This Philotas is not elsewhere mentioned by Curtius; he was perhaps from Aegê in Chalcidicê.

[d] It is not clear which of the eight men of this name in Curtius is here referred to.

4 A great throng of soldiers had assembled to take part in this illustrious contest, both to act as witnesses of the deeds of each entrant, and to give their opinion as to the judges [a] ; for they could not fail to know whether honour was paid to each man justly or
5 falsely. First of all the prize for valour was awarded to old Atarrhias,[b] who before Halicarnassus, when the battle was abandoned by the younger men, had been chiefly instrumental in arousing them to action, Antigenes was judged to be next to him, Philotas of Augaea [c] gained third place, the fourth was assigned to Amyntas,[d] and after these came Antigonus and next Lyncestes Amyntas, Theodotus gained seventh place, and Hellanicus the last.[e]

6 Also in the military discipline handed down by his predecessors Alexander made many changes of the greatest advantage. For whereas before the cavalry were enrolled each man in his own race, apart from the rest, he gave up the separation by nations and assigned them to commanders not necessarily of their own
7 people, but of his own choice.[f] When he wished to move his camp, he used to give the signal with the trumpet, the sound of which was often not readily enough heard amid the noise made by the bustling soldiers ; therefore he set up a pole on top of the general's tent, which could be clearly seen from all sides, and from this a lofty signal, visible to all alike, was watched for, fire by night, smoke in the daytime.

[a] The last three cannot be definitely identified ; Hellanicus is perhaps the one named by Arr. i. 21. 5 as having distinguished himself at the siege of Halicarnassus. The MSS. read *novem* in ii. 2, which does not correspond with the number named in ii. 5 ; Hedicke's conjecture of *nova* corresponds with the sentence following it, and is doubtless the correct reading.

[f] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 16. 11.

8 Iamque Susa ei adituro Abulites, regionis eius praefectus, sive Darei iussu, ut Alexandrum praeda retineret, sive sua sponte filium obviam misit, tra-
9 diturum se urbem promittens. Benigne iuvenem excepit rex et eodem duce ad Choaspin[1] amnem pervenit, delicatam,[2] ut fama est, vehentem[3] aquam. Hic Abulites cum donis regalis opulentiae occurrit.
10 Dromades cameli inter dona erant velocitatis eximiae, XII elephanti a Dareo ex India acciti, iam non terror, ut speraverat, Macedonum, sed auxilium, opes victi
11 ad victorem transferente Fortuna. Ut vero urbem intravit, incredibilem ex thesauris summam pecuniae egessit, L milia talentum argenti, non signati forma,
12 sed rudi pondere. Multi reges tantas opes longa aetate cumulaverant liberis posterisque, ut arbitrabantur ; quas una hora in externi regis manus intulit.
13 Consedit deinde in regia sella, multo excelsiore quam pro habitu corporis. Itaque, cum pedes imum gradum non contingerent, unus ex regiis pueris
14 mensam subdidit pedibus. Et cum spadonem, qui Darei fuerat, ingemiscentem conspexisset rex, causam maestitiae requisivit. Ille indicat Dareum vesci in ea solitum, seque sacram eius mensam ad ludibrium recidentem sine lacrimis conspicere non
15 posse. Subiit ergo regem verecundia violandi hos-

[1] ad Choaspim *Zumpt;* adeo haspim *A.*
[2] delicatam *Vindelinus;* dedicata *A.*
[3] vehentem *Aldus;* uehementem *A.*

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[a] Apparently Oxathres, mentioned by Arrian in iii. 8. 5 and elsewhere. The reward of Abulites was the satrapy of the region about Susa ; v. 2. 17. [b] The Kara Su.

[c] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 16. 7; but Diod. xvii. 66. 1 gives other amounts, gold and silver.

8 And now, as he was on the point of approaching Susa, Abulites, the satrap of that region, whether by order of Darius, in order that the booty might detain Alexander, or of his own volition, sent his son[a] to meet him, promising that he would surrender the
9 city. The king received the young man courteously, and under his guidance came to the river Choaspes,[b] which brings down, as report says, a fine water. There Abulites met him with gifts of regal splendour.
10 Among the presents were the camels known as dromedaries and of extraordinary swiftness, twelve elephants imported by Darius from India, no longer a terror to the Macedonians, as he had hoped, but a help, when Fortune transferred the wealth of the
11 vanquished to the victor. Moreover, when he entered the city, he amassed from its treasures an incredible sum of money, 50,000 talents of silver,
12 not stamped into coins,[c] but rough ingots. Many kings during a long term of years had amassed such great wealth for their children and their posterity, as they thought, but a single hour delivered it into the hands of a foreign king.
13 Then Alexander seated himself on the royal throne, which was far too high for his bodily stature. Therefore, since his feet did not reach its lowest step, one
14 of the royal pages placed a table under his feet. And when Alexander had noticed that a eunuch who had belonged to Darius was lamenting, he inquired the reason for his sadness. The eunuch replied that Darius was accustomed to eat at that table, and that he could not without tears see a board consecrated to
15 his service reduced to so insulting a use. Thereupon the king was touched with shame at such violation of the gods of hospitality, and was already giving orders

pitales deos, iamque subduci iubebat, cum Philotas : " Minime vero haec feceris, rex, sed omen quoque accipe, mensam ex qua libavit hostis epulas, tuis pedibus esse subiectam."

16 Rex Persidis finem aditurus Susa[1] urbem Archelao et praesidium III milium[2] tradidit, Xenophilo arcis cura mandata est, mille Macedonum[3] aetate gravibus 17 praesidere arcis custodiae iussis ; thesaurorum Callicrati tutela permissa, satrapea regionis Susianae restituta Abulitae. Matrem quoque et liberos Darei[4] 18 in eadem urbe deponit. Ac forte Macedonicas vestes multamque purpuram dono ex Macedonia sibi missam cum eis, quae confecerant, tradi Sisigambi iubet—omni namque honore eam et filii quoque 19 pietate prosequebatur—admonerique iussit, ut, si cordi ei[5] quoque vestis esset, conficere eam neptes suas assuefaceret, donoque se quae docerent[6] dare. Ad hanc vocem lacrimae obortae prodidere animum aspernantis id munus ; quippe non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum feminae accipiunt quam admovere lanae manus.

20 Nuntiant qui dona tulerant tristem esse Sisigambim, dignaque res et excusatione et solacio visa. Ipse ergo pervenit ad eam et : " Mater," inquit, " hanc

[1] Susa *Modius;* Susam *A.*
[2] III milium *Lauer;* III milia *A.*
[3] mille Macedonum *Modius;* go M. *P;* M. *C.*
[4] Darei *added by Hedicke.*
[5] ei *added by Madvig.*
[6] quae docerent *Heusinger;* doceret *C;* docerent *P.*

[a] *Cf.* the account of Diod. xvii. 66. 7.
[b] For this meaning *cf.* vii. 7. 2.
[c] The old kingdom of Persia, whose capital was Susa. No distinction can be made, except on historical grounds, between *Persis* and *Persia* in Curtius' narrative, for both

for the table to be taken away, when Philotas cried: "By no means do so, my king, but accept this omen also, that the board from which your enemy partook of sumptuous meals has been your footstool."[a]

16 The king, when about to approach the frontier[b] of Persia,[c] entrusted the city of Susa to Archelaüs with a garrison of 3000; to Xenophilus[d] was given charge of the citadel and a thousand superannuated Macedonian soldiers were ordered to act as its garri-
17 son; the protection of the treasures was left to Callicrates, the satrapy of the district of Susa was restored to Abulites. The mother also and the
18 children of Darius he left behind[e] in that city. And it happened that some Macedonian garments and a great quantity of purple cloth had been sent to him as a gift from Macedonia, along with the women who had made them. These he ordered to be given to Sisigambis—for he treated her with every honour and
19 even with the devotion of a son—and he caused her to be advised that, if the clothing also pleased her, she should train her granddaughters to make it, and that he made her a present of women who could teach them. At these words the tears in the queen's eyes revealed the feeling that she spurned such a gift; for there is nothing that the women of Persia feel to be a greater disgrace than to work in wool.

20 Those who had brought the gifts reported that Sisigambis was sorrowful, and the situation seemed to call both for an apology and for consolation. Therefore Alexander in person came to her and said:

designations are used for the homeland of the Persians, for the empire at its greatest extent, and for such part of it as, at the time in question, was under Persian rule.

[a] *Cf.* Diod. xix. 17. 1. [e] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 67. 1.

vestem qua indutus sum sororum non donum solum, sed etiam opus vides; nostri decepere me mores.
21 Cave, obsecro, in contumeliam acceperis ignorationem meam. Quae tui moris esse cognovi, ut spero,
22 abunde servata sunt. Scio apud vos filio in conspectu matris nefas esse considere, nisi cum illa permisit; quotienscumque ad te veni, donec ut considerem annueres, ipse steti.[1] Procumbens venerari me saepe voluisti; inhibui. Dulcissimae matri Olympiadi[2] nomen debitum tibi reddo."

III. Mitigato animo eius, rex quartis castris pervenit ad Tigrim fluvium; Pasitigrim incolae vocant. Oritur in montibus Uxiorum et per L stadia silvestri-
2 bus ripis praeceps inter saxa devolvitur. Accipiunt deinde eum campi, quos clementiore alveo praeterit, iam[3] navium patiens. DC sunt stadia mollioris soli, per quod leni tractu aquarum Persico mari se insinuat.
3 Amne superato cum VIIII milibus peditum et Agrianis sagittariisque atque[4] Graecorum mercennariorum tribus milibus additis mille Thracum, in regionem Uxiorum pervenit. Finitima Susis est et in primam Persidem excurrit, artum inter se et Susianos aditum
4 relinquens. Medates[5] erat regionis praefectus, haud sane temporum homo; quippe ultima pro fide experiri
5 decreverat. Sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent

[1] ipse steti *Hedicke;* restiti *A.*
[2] matri Olympiadi *Giunta;* matris olympiadis *A.*
[3] iam *I;* nam *A.* [4] atque *added by Hedicke.*
[5] Medates *Vogel;* madates *A.*

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[a] As is clear from the following description, this is not the Tigris, but a neighbouring river, the Eulaeus (the Ulaï of Scripture), the modern Karun.
[b] The Persian Gulf (*Sinus Persicus*).
[c] Here, as often, equivalent to Susiana.

"Mother, in this clothing which I am wearing you see, not only a gift of my sisters, but also their handi-
21 work. It was our customs that led me astray. Do not, I beseech you, interpret my ignorance as an insult. What I have known to be in accordance with
22 your habits, I have, I hope, scrupulously observed. I know that in your country it is a crime for a son to remain seated in the presence of his mother, except when she has given him permission; as often as I have visited you, I myself have stood until you gave me a sign that I might sit. You have often wished to show me respect by prostrating yourself; I have prevented it. I apply to you the title due to my dearly beloved mother Olympias."

III. Having soothed the queen's feelings, the king came at his fourth camp to the river Tigris; the natives call it Pasitigris.[a] It rises in the mountains of the Uxii and for fifty stadia rolls on rapidly amid
2 rocks and with wooded banks. Then plains receive it, through which it passes in a gentler course, now fit for boats. There are 600 stadia of smoother ground through which in a quiet stretch of water it makes its
3 way into the Persian Sea.[b] Having crossed the river with 9000 foot-soldiers and Agrianian archers and 3000 Greek mercenaries besides 1000 Thracians, he came into the land of the Uxii. This adjoins Susa,[c] and extends into the first part of Persia, leaving a narrow passage between itself and the Susiani.
4 Medates was the governor of that region, a man by no means a time-server[d]; for he had decided to en-
5 dure the utmost to the best of his loyalty. But men[e] who were well acquainted with the country informed

[a] *Cf. temporaria ingenia*, iv. 5. 11.
[e] Diod. xvii. 67. 4 *τῶν ἐγχωρίων τις ἀνήρ*.

occultum iter esse per calles et aversum ab urbe ; si paucos misisset leviter armatos, super capita hostium evasuros.

6 Cum consilium placuisset, idem itinerum fuerunt duces. M et D mercede conducti et Agriani fere M Tauroni praefecto dati ac post solis occasum iter
7 ingredi iussi. Ipse, tertia vigilia castris motis, circa lucis ortum superat angustias caesaque materia cratibus et pluteis faciundis, ut qui turres admoverent extra teli iactum essent, urbem obsidere coepit.
8 Praerupta erant omnia, saxis et cotibus impedita. Multis ergo vulneribus depulsi, ut quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam cum loco dimicandum esset,
9 subibant tamen, quia rex inter primos constiterat, interrogans tot urbium victores an erubescerent haerere in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis, simul admonens Tauronem mox auxilium esse laturum.[1] Inter haec eminus petebatur ; quem testudine obiecta, milites—ut recederet[2] perpellere[3] nequierant—tuebantur.

10 Tandem Tauron super arcem urbis se cum suo agmine ostendit. Ad cuius conspectum et hostium animi labare et Macedones acrius proelium inire
11 coeperunt. Anceps oppidanos malum urguebat, nec

[1] Tauronem . . . laturum *added by Hedicke.*
[2] recederet *Hedicke;* decederet *A.*
[3] perpellere *Acidalius;* pellere *A.*

[a] The plural, as in Livy xxiii. 33. 8, seems to refer to many numerous and difficult paths which must be traversed.
[b] *Cf.* viii. 14. 15 ; Arr. v. 14. 1.
[c] This seems to refer to the narrow passage between the Uxii and Susiana ; see v. 3. 3.

Alexander that there was a secret road through the mountain pastures and leading away from the city; if he would send a few light-armed troops, they would come out above the heads of the enemy.

6 When this plan had been approved, the same men were their guides over the roads.[a] 1500 mercenaries and nearly 1000 Agriani were put under the command of Tauron [b] and ordered to begin their march after 7 sunset. Alexander himself broke camp in the third watch, passed through the narrows [c] about daybreak, and after cutting timber for making hurdles and mantlets, so that men bringing up siege-towers should be out of reach of missiles, began the siege 8 of the city. The whole place was precipitous and encumbered by rocks and crags. Therefore the soldiers were repulsed after suffering many wounds, since they had to contend not only with the enemy, 9 but also with the terrain [d]; they came on again however, since the king had taken his place among the foremost, asking whether the victors over so many cities did not blush to falter in the siege of an insignificant and obscure fortress, at the same time reminding them that Tauron would presently bring help. As he said these words he was being attacked at long range; and the soldiers—they had been unable to prevail upon him to retire—were protecting him by interposing a tortoise-formation.

10 At last Tauron showed himself with his troops above the height of the city's citadel. At sight of him both the courage of the enemy began to give way and the Macedonians to enter battle with more 11 spirit. The double danger pressed the townsmen hard, and the force of the enemy could not be

[d] But according to Arr. iii. 17. 5, there was hardly any fighting.

sisti vis hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum, pluribus ad fugam animus fuit, magna pars in arcem concessit. Inde xxx oratoribus missis ad deprecandum triste responsum a rege redditur, non esse veniae
12 locum. Itaque suppliciorum quoque metu perculsi, ad Sisigambim, Darei matrem, occulto itinere ignotoque hostibus mittunt, qui peterent ut ipsa regem mitigaret, haud ignari, parentis eam loco diligi colique. Et Medates sororis eius filiam secum matrimonio iunxerat, Dareum propinqua cognatione contingens.

13 Diu Sisigambis supplicum precibus repugnavit, abnuens deprecationem pro illis convenire[1] fortunae in qua esset, adiecitque metuere sese ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, saepiusque cogitare captivam
14 esse se quam reginam fuisse. Ad ultimum victa, litteris Alexandrum ita deprecata est, ut id[2] ipsum excusaret, quod deprecaretur; petere se, ut illis quoque, si minus, sibi ignosceret: pro necessario ac propinquo suo, iam non hoste sed supplice, tantum
15 vitam precari. Moderationem clementiamque regis quae tunc fuit, vel una haec res possit ostendere; non Medati modo ignovit, sed omnes et deditos et captivos et[3] libertate atque immunitate donavit, urbem reliquit intactam, agros sine tributo colere permisit. A victore Dareo plura mater non impetrasset.

16 Uxiorum dein gentem subactam Susianorum satra-

[1] non conuenire *A;* non *deleted by Freinshem.*
[2] id *added by Hedicke, ed. min.* [3] et *added by Lauer.*

[a] But *cf.* Arr. iii. 17. 6; an annual tribute was levied.

checked. A few were resolved to die, more to flee, the greater part withdrew to the citadel. From there when thirty envoys were sent to plead for mercy, the grim answer was returned by the king that
12 there was no room for pardon. Therefore alarmed by the fear of torture also, they sent men by a secret way, unknown to the enemy, to Sisigambis, the mother of Darius, to beg that she herself should appease the king, knowing, as they did, that she was loved and honoured by him as a mother. Medates too had taken to wife her sister's daughter, and thus was a near relative of Darius.

13 For a long time Sisigambis resisted the entreaties of the suppliants, declaring that to intervene in their behalf was not consistent with the fortune in which she found herself, and she added that she feared to take too great advantage of the victor's indulgence, and that she reflected more often that she was a
14 prisoner than that she had been a queen. Overcome at last, in a letter she begged Alexander to excuse her for presuming to beg a favour; she asked that he would pardon them also, if not, that he would pardon her; that she was pleading only for the life of a friend and relative of hers, who was no longer his enemy,
15 but a suppliant. The moderation and clemency of the king, as it was at that time, even this act alone could make clear; he pardoned not only Medates, but to all, both those who had been taken prisoner and those who had surrendered, he granted both freedom and even immunity, left the city intact, and allowed it to cultivate its fields without tribute.[a] If Darius had been victor his mother would not have obtained more from him.

16 Then Alexander incorporated the subdued race of

pae contribuit, divisisque cum Parmenione copiis, illum campestri itinere procedere iubet, ipse cum expedito agmine iugum montium cepit, quorum per-
17 petuum dorsum in Persidem excurrit. Omni hac regione vastata, tertio die Persidem, quinto angustias quas illi Susidas Pylas[1] vocant intrat. Ariobarzanes has cum xxv milibus peditum occupaverat, rupes undique praeruptas et abscisas,[2] in quarum cacuminibus extra teli iactum barbari stabant, de industria quieti et paventibus similes, donec in artissimas fauces
18 penetraret agmen. Quod ubi contemptu sui pergere vident, tum vero ingentis magnitudinis saxa per montium prona devolvunt, quae incussa[3] saepius subiacentibus petris maiore vi incidebant[4] nec singulos
19 modo, sed agmina proterebant. Fundis quoque excussi lapides et sagittae undique ingerebantur.

Nec id miserrimum fortibus viris erat, sed quod inulti, quod ferarum ritu veluti in fovea deprehensi
20 caederentur. Ira igitur in rabiem versa, eminentia saxa complexi, ut ad hostem pervenirent, alius alium levantes conabantur ascendere ; ea ipsa, multorum simul manibus convolsa, in eos qui commoverant
21 recidebant. Nec stare ergo poterant nec niti, ne testudine quidem protegi, cum tantae molis onera propellerent barbari. Regem non dolor modo, sed

[1] Pylas *Aldus;* pilas *A.*

[2] rupes undique praeruptas et abscisas *Hedicke;* rupes et undique praeruptas abscisas *P;* r. a. u. p. *BL;* a. r. u. p. *F;* r. a. et u. p. *V.*

[3] incussa *Lauer;* incusse *CP m. sec.;* sn *P m. pr.*

[4] incidebant *J. Froben;* incedebant *A.*

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[a] Also called the Persidan Gates ; Arr. iii. 18. 2.

[b] The satrap of the province ; *cf.* v. 4. 33.

the Uxii in the satrapy of the Susiani, and having divided his forces with Parmenion, he ordered him to go on by the road through the plains, while he himself with a light-armed band took the ridge of the mountains whose back runs without interruption into Per-
17 sia. Having laid waste all this region, on the third day he entered Persia, and on the fifth day the pass which the Persians call the Susidan Gates.[a] Ariobarzanes[b] with 25,000 foot-soldiers had taken possession of that pass, shut in on all sides by steep and craggy rocks, on the summits of which the barbarians stood out of reach of missiles, purposely quiet and pretending fear, until the army of Alexander should enter the
18 narrowest part of the pass. But when they saw that in scorn of them it continued to advance, then indeed they rolled stones of huge size down the slopes of the mountains, and these, often striking against[c] the rocks below, fell with greater force and crushed,
19 not only single soldiers, but entire troops. Stones also hurled from slings, as well as arrows, were poured upon them from all sides.

And this was not the most wretched fate for brave men to bear, but that they were being slain un-
20 avenged, like wild beasts caught in a pit. Therefore their wrath turned to frenzy, and grasping the jutting rocks, they tried to clamber up and reach the enemy, lifting one another; but those very rocks, torn away by the hands of many who seized them at the same time, fell back upon those who had loosened
21 them. Therefore they could neither stand nor make any effort, nor be protected even by a tortoise-formation, since the barbarians were rolling down masses of such great size. The king was tormented,

[c] And rebounding from them.

etiam pudor temere in illas angustias coniecti[1] exer-
22 citus angebat. Invictus ante eam diem fuerat, nihil frustra ausus, impune Ciliciae fauces intraverat, mare quoque novum in Pamphyliam iter aperuerat; tunc haesitabat deprehensa felicitas, nec aliud remedium
23 erat quam reverti qua venerat. Itaque, signo receptui dato, densatis ordinibus scutisque super capita consertis, retro evadere ex angustiis iubet. xxx fuere stadia, quae remensi sunt.

IV. Tum castris undique aperto loco positis, non consultare modo quid agendum esset, sed vates quo-
2 que adhibere coepit a superstitione animi. Sed quid tunc[2] praedicere Aristander, cui tum plurimum credebat ex vatibus, poterat? Itaque damnatis intempestivis sacrificiis, peritos locorum convocari iubet; per Mediam iter ostendebant tutum apertum-
3 que. Sed rex deserere milites insepultos erubescebat, ita tradito more ut vix ullum militiae tam sollemne
4 esset munus quam humandi suos. Captivos ergo quos nuper exceperat vocari iubet. Inter quos erat quidam Graecae Persicaeque linguae peritus, qui frustra eum in Persidem montium dorso exercitum ducere affirmat, silvestres esse calles vix singulis pervios, omnia contegi frondibus implexosque arborum ramos

[1] coniecti *J. Froben;* eiecti *A.*
[2] tunc *Vindelinus;* tum *A.*

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[a] See iv. 13. 6; Strabo xiv. 3. 9 (666).
[b] For *haesitabat cf.* Lucan vii. 454.
[c] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 68. 2; *tutum apertumque* is not in harmony with his description.
[d] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 68. 4. [e] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 18. 4.

not alone by resentment, but also by shame for having inconsiderately thrown his army into those narrow
22 quarters. Invincible before that day, he had risked nothing without success; he had safely entered the pass of Cilicia, he had opened a new route by sea into Pamphylia [a]; but now his good fortune was caught and had come to a standstill,[b] and there was no other remedy than to return by the way he had come.
23 Therefore, having given the signal for retreat, he ordered his men to leave in close order, joining their shields over their heads. There were thirty stadia which were retraced.

IV. Then, having encamped in a place open on all sides, he not only began to take counsel on what was to be done, but also, from a feeling of superstition,
2 to summon soothsayers. But what prediction could Aristander, in whom among the seers he then had the greatest confidence, make at such a crisis? Therefore, rejecting sacrifices as untimely, he gave orders that the men acquainted with the country should be summoned; these pointed out a safe and open
3 route through Media.[c] But the king was ashamed to desert the soldiers who were unburied, because it was an inherited usage that hardly any military duty was
4 so sacred as that of burying their dead.[d] Accordingly, he gave orders that the prisoners [e] whom he had lately taken should be called. Among these was a man well versed in the Greek and the Persian tongues, who declared that it was hopeless for the king to try to lead the army into Persia over the ridge of the mountains, but that there were paths through the woods barely to be traversed in single file, that everything was covered with foliage, and that the interlaced branches of the trees made the

silvas committere. Namque Persis ab altero latere perpetuis montium iugis clauditur. Hoc dorsum,[1] quod in longitudinem MDC, in latitudinem CLXX stadia procurrit, a Caucaso monte ad Rubrum mare pertinet, quaque defecit mons, aliud munimentum, fretum, obiectum est. Planities deinde sub radicibus montium spatiosa procumbit, fertilis terra multisque vicis atque urbibus frequens. Araxes amnis per hos campos multorum aquas torrentium evolvit in Medum; Medus ad mare ad meridiem versus—minor amnis eo, quem accepit—evehitur, gignendaeque herbae non alius est aptior, quidquid alluit floribus vestiens. Platani quoque et populi contegunt ripas, ita ut procul visentibus continuata videantur montibus nemora riparum. Quippe obumbratus amnis presso in solum alveo[2] delabitur,[3] imminentque colles, ipsi quoque frondibus laeti, radices eorum humore subeunte. Regio non alia tota Asia salubrior habetur; temperat caelum hinc perpetuum iugum opacum et umbrosum, quod aestus levat, illinc mare adiunctum, quod modico tepore terras fovet.

[1] hoc dorsum *after* quod *Vogel; after* procurrit *A.*
[2] alveo *Vindelinus;* amne *A.*
[3] delabitur *Bentley;* dilabitur *A.*

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[a] A somewhat awkward sentence; the idea is better expressed in v. 4. 24. *His captivus expositis* (v. 4. 10) indicates that the account of the prisoner continues to that point.

[b] This obviously refers to the continuations of the Caucasus, not to the modern conception of the word. See note *e*. By Red Sea is meant the Persian Gulf.

[c] This refers only to the part of Persia called κοίλη Περσίς (*Coelê Persis*, Hollow Persia). The rest consists of a series

5 forests continuous.[a] For Persis on one side is shut in by continuous chains of mountains. This height, which extends in length for 1600 stadia, and in width for 170, reaches from the Caucasus mountains[b] to the Red Sea, and where the mountains end,
6 another barrier, the sea, is interposed. Then at the roots of the mountains a spacious plain[c] slopes down, a fertile land, and abounding in many villages
7 and cities. Through these fields the river Araxes[d] rolls the waters of many torrents into the Medus[e]; the Medus—a lesser river than the one which flows into it—in a southerly direction goes on to the sea, and no other river is more favourable to the growth of vegetation, and it clothes[f] with flowers whatever
8 it flows near. Plane trees also and poplars cover its banks, so that to those who view them from afar the groves along the banks seem to be a continuation of those on the mountains.[g] For the shaded stream flows in a channel sunk deep in the soil, and over it hang hills which are themselves also rich in foliage because of the moisture which makes its way
9 to their roots. No other region in all Asia is regarded as more health-giving; the climate is tempered on one side by the dusky and shaded mountains, which alleviate the heat, on the other by the nearness of the sea, which caresses the lands with moderate warmth.

of heights and valleys, as the term κλῖμαξ (*scalae*) (Diod. xix. 21. 2) implies.

[a] Modern Bund-Amir.

[e] Modern Polvar. The mention of these two rivers shows that by Caucasus in § 5 continuations of the Caucasus are meant; see note *b*.

[f] For the figure *cf.* Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 8. 4.

[g] An exaggeration, since the mountains are bare and barren. . .

10 His captivus expositis, interrogatus a rege auditune an oculis comperta haberet quae diceret, pastorem se fuisse et omnes eas calles percurrisse respondit; bis captum, semel a Persis in Lycia, iterum ab ipso.
11 Subit animum regis memoria[1] oraculo editae sortis; quippe consulenti responsum erat ducem in Persidem
12 ferentis viae Lycium civem fore. Igitur promissis quanta et praesens necessitas exigebat et ipsius fortuna capiebat oneratum, armari iubet Macedonum more et, quod bene verteret monstrare[2] iter quamvis arduum et praeceps; evasurum se esse cum paucis, nisi forte crederet qua ipse pecoris causa isset Alexandrum pro gloria et perpetua laude ire non posse.
13 Etiam atque etiam docere captivus quam difficile iter esset, maxime armatis. Tum rex: "Praedem," inquit, "me accipe neminem eorum qui secuntur recusaturum ire qua duces."
14 Cratero igitur ad custodiam castrorum relicto, cum peditibus quis assueverat, et eis copiis quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus M, praecipit ut, castrorum specie manente, plures de industria ignes fieri

[1] regis memoria *I;* memoria regis *A*.
[2] monstrare *Freinshem;* monstraret *A*.

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[a] The language here seems to indicate that the shepherd did not give the long description of Persis in v. 4. 5 ff.; but see note *a*, page 360.

[b] This is often a formal introduction to a proclamation, sometimes in fuller form, and abbreviated Q.B.F.F.Q.S. (*quod bonum, felix, faustumque sit*). The phrase is used in a similarly informal way in Livy vii. 39. 13. Here it seems probable that Alexander said it to himself, as he did not want to suggest to the guide that he had any doubt about the outcome.

[c] It is not certain whether Alexander had mounted archers; Curtius does not mention them elsewhere; Arr. iii. 18. 4

10 When the prisoner had made his reply, on being asked by the king whether he had learned this by hearsay or by observation, he replied that he had been a shepherd and had roamed over all those paths[a]; that he had been twice captured, once by
11 the Persians in Lycia, again by Alexander. The king was reminded of the prediction given by an oracle; for when he consulted it, the reply was made that a citizen of Lycia would be his guide on the road leading
12 into Persia. Therefore, after loading the man with promises as great as the present necessity demanded and as suited his condition, he ordered him to arm himself in the Macedonian fashion, and, uttering a prayer that it might result favourably,[b] to show him the way, however steep and difficult it might be; that he would pass through it with a few men, unless by any chance the shepherd supposed that, where he had gone to feed his flock, Alexander could not go for
13 the sake of glory and immortal fame. Again and again the prisoner explained to him how difficult the route was, especially for armed men. Then said the king: "Take my word for it that none of those who follow will refuse to go where you will lead the way."
14 Accordingly, having left Craterus to guard the camp with the infantry which he had been accustomed to command, and with the forces led by Meleager, and with a thousand mounted bowmen,[c] he directed him, in order that the appearance of a camp might be kept up, purposely to order more fires than usual to be made, so that the barbarians

mentions here bowmen and cavalry, whence some have emended the text. Mounted bowmen are mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* ii. 16, and *hippotoxotae* in Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 4, and in *Bell. Afr.* 19.

imperet, quo magis barbari credant ipsum regem in
15 castris esse. Ceterum, si forte Ariobarzanes cognovisset per callium anfractus intrare se[1] et ad occupandum iter suum partem copiarum temptasset opponere, Craterus eum illato terrore retineret, ad
16 propius periculum conversurum agmen ; sin autem ipse hostem fefellisset et saltum occupasset, cum trepidantium barbarorum tumultum exaudisset, persequens tum[2] regem id ipsum iter quo pridie pulsi fuerant ne dubitaret ingredi ; quippe vacuum fore hostibus in semet aversis.

17 Ipse tertia vigilia, silenti agmine ac ne tuba quidem dato signo, pergit ad demonstratum iter callium ; tridui alimenta portare militem iusserat, leviter
18 armatum. Sed praeter invias rupes ac praerupta saxa vestigium subinde fallentia nix cumulata vento ingredientis fatigabat ; quippe velut in foveas delati hauriebantur et, cum a commilitonibus allevarentur, trahebant magis adiuvantes quam sequebantur.
19 Nox quoque et ignota regio ac dux—incertum an satis fidus—multiplicabant metum ; si custodes fefellisset,[3] quasi feras bestias ipsos posse deprehendi. Ex unius captivi vel fide vel anima pendere et regis

[1] se *added by Hedicke.*
[2] persequens tum *Jeep;* persequentium *A.*
[3] fefellisset *Sebisius;* fefellissent *A.*

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[a] This seems to justify the note on *itinerum*, v. 3. 6.
[b] *Cf.* iv. 9. 18 *firmare gradum.*

might be more inclined to believe that the king
15 himself was in the camp. Further, if haply Ariobarzanes should have learned that he was entering through the winding paths,[a] and should try to oppose a part of his forces to block his advance, Craterus was to hold him back by alarming him, and force him to turn the attention of his army to the nearer
16 danger; but if he himself should elude the enemy and get possession of the pass, then Craterus, following the king, when he heard the noise made by the confusion of the enemy, must not hesitate to take that same route from which they had been driven the day before; for it would be empty when the attention of the enemy had been turned to himself.

17 Alexander himself in the third watch in silent march and not even having given the signal with the trumpet, went on to the route, which had been pointed out, through the paths; he had ordered the soldiers, who were lightly armed, to carry provisions
18 for three days. But besides the pathless rocks and steep crags which from time to time made their footing insecure,[b] snow drifted by the wind made their progress wearisome; for they were swallowed up as if they had fallen into pits, and when their comrades tried to lift them out, they dragged down instead of following those who were aiding them.
19 Night also and the unknown country, as well as the guide—since it was uncertain whether he was wholly to be trusted—increased their fear; for if he had deceived his guards, they themselves could be caught like so much wild game. The safety of their king and of themselves depended either on the trustworthiness or the life of a single prisoner.

20 salutem et suam. Tandem venere in iugum. A dextra iter ad ipsum Ariobarzanen erat; hic Philotam et Coenon cum Amynta et Polyperconte expeditam habentes manum relinquit, monitos ut, quia et eques[1] pediti iret[2] mixtus et quam pinguissimum esset solum et pabuli fertile, sensim procederent: duces erant itineris de captivis dati.

21 Ipse cum armigeris et ala quam agema appellabant ardua semita, sed longius a stationibus hostium
22 remota, multa cum vexatione processit. Medius erat dies et fatigatis necessaria quies—quippe tantundem itineris supererat, quantum emensi erant, sed minus
23 praecipitis atque ardui—; itaque, refectis cibo somnoque militibus, secunda vigilia surgit. Et cetera quidem haud aegre praeterit, ceterum qua se montium iugum paulatim ad planiora demittit, ingens
24 vorago, concursu cavata torrentium, iter ruperat. Ad hoc arborum rami, alius alio implicati et cohaerentes, ut perpetuam obiecerant saepem. Desperatio igitur ingens, adeo ut vix lacrimis abstinerent, in-
25 cesserat. Praecipue obscuritas terrori erat; nam etiam si qua sidera internitebant, continenti fronde tectae arbores conspicere prohibebant. Ne aurium quidem usus supererat, silvas quatiente vento, qui concurrentibus ramis maiorem quam pro flatu sonum edebat.[3]

[1] quia et eques] quietus est *A*.
[2] iret *Jeep;* erat *A*. [3] edebat *Vindelinus;* edebant *A*.

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[a] Apparently a part of the *agema* (v. 4. 21) under the command of Philotas (v. 4. 30).

[b] A more complete account is given by Arr. iii. 18. 5 Polyaen. iv. 3. 27.

[c] *Surgit* in this connexion is an unusual word.

20 At last they reached the summit. On the right was a road to Ariobarzanes himself; here the king left Philotas and Coenus with Amyntas and Polyperchon in command of a light-armed band, advising them to advance slowly, since cavalry[a] mixed with infantry were marching, and the soil was very rich and abounded in fodder; guides for their route were given them from among the prisoners.

21 Alexander himself with his guards and a company of what they called the *agema*, advanced[b] with great trouble by a path which was steep, but more remote
22 from the pickets of the enemy. It was midday, and rest was essential for the wearied soldiers—for as much of the route was left as they had traversed, but
23 it was less steep and difficult—therefore, when the troops had been refreshed by food and sleep, he continued his march[c] at the second watch. And the rest he passed over without trouble; but where the summit of the mountains gradually descends to the more level ground, a great abyss, hollowed out by the rushing together of torrents, had broken
24 into the road. Besides this, the branches of the trees, entangled one with another and clinging together, had interposed an apparently continuous hedge. In consequence, such extreme despair had fallen upon them, that they could hardly refrain
25 from tears. The darkness especially was a cause of terror; for even if any stars shone through the clouds, the trees, which were completely covered with leaves, prevented them from getting sight of them. Not even the use of their ears was left them, since the woods were shaken by the wind, which made a greater noise when the branches knocked against each other than was proportionate to its blast.

26 Tandem expectata lux omnia quae terribiliora nox fecerat minuit ; circumiri brevi spatio poterat eluvies,
27 et sibi quisque dux itineris coeperat fieri. Evadunt ergo in editum verticem ; ex quo hostium statione conspecta, strenue armati a tergo se ostendunt nihil tale metuentibus. Quorum pauci, qui congredi ausi
28 erant, caesi sunt. Itaque hinc morientium gemitus, hinc ad suos recurrentium miserabilis facies integros quoque, antequam discrimen experirentur, in fugam
29 avertit. Fremitu deinde in castra quis Craterus praesidebat illato, ad occupandas angustias in quibus
30 pridie haeserant miles educitur. Simul et Philotas cum Polyperconte Amyntaque et Coeno diversum iter ingredi iussus, alium terrorem intulit barbaris.
31 Undique ergo Macedonum armis fulgentibus, ancipiti malo oppressi memorabile tamen proelium edunt. Ut opinor, ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit, et saepe
32 desperatio spei causa est. Nudi complectebantur armatos et ingenti corporum mole secum ad terram detrahentes, ipsorum telis plerosque fodiebant.
33 Ariobarzanes tamen, XL ferme equitibus et V milibus peditum stipatus, per mediam aciem Macedonum cum multo suorum atque hostium sanguine erupit,

[a] A fuller and more vivid account is given by Arr. iii. 18. 6 ff.

26 At last the long awaited daylight lessened all the terrors which night had made more formidable; the flooded spot could be passed round by a slight détour, and each man had begun to be his own guide
27 for the route. And so they made their way out to a lofty height; and when they had observed from there the enemies' position,[a] the armed force showed itself in vigorous fashion behind men who were in fear of nothing of the kind. A few of them, who had
28 ventured to join battle, were slain. And so, on the one side the groans of the dying, on the other the pitiful appearance of those who were hastening back to their main body, turned to flight even those who were untouched before they made any attempt at a
29 struggle. Then their shouting penetrated to the camp of which Craterus was in charge, and his soldiers were led out to take possession of the pass in which they
30 had been brought to a standstill the day before. At the same time Philotas, with Amyntas, Polypercon and Coenus, who had been ordered to take a different route, struck the barbarians with another fear.
31 But even though the arms of the Macedonians thus gleamed on every side, and they were threatened with a double danger, they nevertheless fought a memorable fight. In my opinion, necessity spurs on even cowardice, and desperation is often a cause for
32 hope. Unarmed as they were, they seized the armed men in their embrace, and dragging them down to the ground with them by the huge bulk of their bodies, stabbed most of them with their own weapons.
33 However, Ariobarzanes, closely attended by about forty horsemen and five thousand foot, burst through the centre of the Macedonians' line with much bloodshed on their own side and on their enemies',

Persepolim urbem, caput regionis, occupare festinans.
34 Sed a custodibus urbis exclusus, consecutis strenue hostibus, cum omnibus fugae comitibus renovato proelio cecidit. Craterus quoque raptim agmine acto supervenit.

V. Rex eodem loco quo hostium copias fuderat castra communit. Quamquam enim undique fugati hostes victoriam concesserant, tamen praealtae praecipitesque fossae pluribus locis obiectae abruperant iter, sensimque et caute progrediundum erat iam
2 non hostium, sed locorum fraude suspecta. Procedenti ei litterae redduntur a Tiridate, custode pecuniae regiae, indicantes eos qui in urbe essent, audito eius adventu, diripere velle thesauros; properaret occupare thesauros dimissos: expeditum iter
3 esse, quamquam Araxes amnis interfluat. Nullam virtutem regis iustius[1] quam celeritatem laudaverim; relictis pedestribus copiis, tota nocte vectus[2] cum equitibus itineris tanto spatio fatigatis ad Araxen
4 prima luce pervenit. Vici erant in propinquo; quibus dirutis, pontem ex materia eorum subditis saxis strenue induxit.

5 Iamque haud procul urbe[3] erant, cum miserabile agmen inter pauca Fortunae exemplum memorandum, regi occurrit. Captivi erant Graeci ad IIII milia fere, quos Persae vario suppliciorum modo affecerant.
6 Alios pedibus, quosdam manibus auribusque ampu-

[1] iustius *Jeep;* istius *A.*
[2] vectus *added by Vogel.*
[3] urbe *Lauer;* urbem *A.*

[a] Arr. iii. 18. 9 says that he escaped with a few horsemen.

in haste to take possession of the city of Persepolis,
34 the capital of the region. But shut out by the garrison of the city, and vigorously pursued by the enemy, he renewed the battle and was killed[a] with all the participants in his flight. Craterus also arrived, having driven on his force with all speed.

V. The king fortified a camp on the same spot where he had routed the enemy. For although the flight of the foe on all sides had acknowledged the victory, yet the interposition of very deep and sheer trenches in many places had broken up the road, and it was necessary to advance slowly and cautiously, no longer through suspicion of deception by the enemy,
2 but by the terrain. As he was on his way, a letter was delivered to him from Tiridates, who was in charge of Darius' finances, informing him that the inhabitants of the city, on hearing of his coming, wished to pillage its treasures, and urging Alexander to hasten to take possession of the deserted riches; he said that the route was unimpeded, although the
3 Araxes River crossed it. There is no merit of the king that I could praise with more justice than his rapidity in action. Leaving his infantry forces, and riding all night with his cavalry, wearied though they were by a march of so great extent, he reached the
4 Araxes at daybreak. There were villages near by; these he destroyed and from their timbers supported by stones he quickly threw a bridge across.
5 And already he was not far from the city, when a wretched troop, to be paralleled among few examples of ill-fortune, met the king. They were Greek captives, to the number of nearly 4000, on whom the
6 Persians had inflicted various kinds of torture. Some with their feet, others with their hands and ears cut

tatis inustisque barbararum litterarum notis, in longum sui ludibrium reservaverant et, cum se quoque alienae dicionis esse cernerent, volentes regi
7 occurrere non prohibuerant. Invisitata simulacra, non homines videbantur, nec quicquam in illis praeter vocem poterat agnosci ; plures igitur lacrimas commovere quam profuderant ipsi. Quippe in tam multiplici variaque fortuna singulorum intuentibus similes quidem, sed tamen dispares poenas, quis
8 maxime miserabilis esset, liquere non poterat ; ut vero Iovem illi tandem, Graeciae ultorem, aperuisse oculos conclamavere, omnes pari supplicio affecti sibi videbantur.

Rex abstersis quas profuderat lacrimis, bonum habere animum iubet, visuros urbes suas coniugesque,
9 et castra ibi[1] duo ab urbe stadia communit. Graeci excesserant vallo deliberaturi quid potissimum a rege peterent ; cumque aliis sedem in Asia rogare, aliis reverti domos placeret, Euctemon Cymaeus ita
10 locutus ad eos fertur : " Ei, qui modo etiam ad opem petendam ex tenebris et carcere procedere erubuimus, ut nunc est, supplicia nostra—quorum nos pudeat magis an paeniteat, incertum est—ostentare
11 Graeciae velut laetum spectaculum cupimus. Atqui optime miserias ferunt qui abscondunt, nec ulla tam familiaris est infelicibus patria quam solitudo et status prioris oblivio. Nam qui multum in suorum

[1] ibi *Hedicke;* in *A*.

[a] *Cf.* Cic. *Pro. Mil.* xxxi. 85 *sancte Iuppiter . . . aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti.*

off, and branded with the characters of barbarian letters, they had reserved for their long-continued mockery, and when the Persians perceived that they themselves also were under foreign subjection, they had not opposed the desire of the prisoners to go to
7 meet Alexander. They resembled strange images, not human beings, and there was nothing that could be recognized in them except their voices; therefore they aroused more tears than they themselves had shed. Indeed, amid such manifold and varied misfortunes of individuals, to those who beheld their sufferings, similar indeed, but yet unlike, it could not be
8 clear which was the most wretched; but when they cried out that at last Jupiter, avenger of the Greeks, had opened his eyes,[a] all who beheld them seemed to themselves to have suffered the same torture.

The king, after having dried the tears which he had shed, bade them have a good heart, since they would see their cities and their wives, and he fortified a
9 camp there, two stadia from the city. The Greeks had come out from the palisade to deliberate what it would be best to request of the king; and when some wished to ask for an abode in Asia, others to return to their homes, Euctemon[b] of Cymê is said to have
10 addressed them as follows: "We who but now were ashamed to come out from the darkness of a dungeon even to implore aid, desire, as things now stand, to display to Greece our mutilations—whether our shame or our grief is the greater is uncertain—as if
11 they were a joyful spectacle. And yet they endure their miseries best who hide them, and no native land is so intimate to the unhappy as solitude and forgetfulness of their former condition. For those

[b] This man is not mentioned elsewhere.

misericordia ponunt, ignorant quam celeriter lacri-
12 mae inarescant. Nemo fideliter diligit quem fastidit; nam et calamitas querula est et superba felicitas. Ita suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet, cum de aliena deliberat. Nisi mutuo miseri essemus, olim alius alii potuissemus esse fastidio ; quid mirum et[1] fortunatos semper parem quaerere ?

13 " Obsecro vos, olim vita defuncti quaeramus locum in quo haec semesa obruamus. Grati prorsus coniugibus quas iuvenes duximus revertemur ! Liberi in flore et aetatis et rerum agnoscent patres[2] ergastuli
14 detrimenta ! Et quota pars nostri tot obire terras potest ? Procul Europa in ultima Orientis relegati, senes debiles, maiore membrorum parte mulcati[3] tolerabimus scilicet, quae armatos et victores fati-
15 garunt ! Coniuges deinde, quas captis fors et necessitas unicum solacium applicuit, parvosque liberos trahimus nobiscum an relinquimus ? Cum his ve-
16 nientes nemo agnoscere volet ; relinquemus ergo extemplo praesentia[4] pignora, cum incertum sit an visuri simus illa quae petimus ? Inter hos latendum est qui nos miseros nosse coeperunt." Haec Euctemon.

17 Contra Theaetetus Atheniensis orsus est dicere :

[1] et *Bentley;* est *A.* [2] patres *Acidalius;* fratres *A.*
[3] mulcati *Halm;* multati *A.*
[4] praesentia *Acidalius;* praesentium *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* iv. 5. 3 *senescendum fore tantum terrarum vel sine proelio obeunti.*

[b] *Coniuges,* used with rhetorical effect of women whom they had made their concubines. [c] *Cf.* iv. 14. 11.

[d] The speech of Theaetetus differs from that of Euctemon, not only in its sentiments, but also in its style, which is appropriately Attic, or " plain," as compared with the Asianism of his opponent ; see in general Gell. vi. 14.

who count greatly on the compassion of their rela-
12 tives are not aware how quickly tears dry. No one faithfully loves one from whom he shrinks; for while calamity is given to complaining, prosperity too is proud. So true is it that each one has regard to his own fortune when he deliberates about that of another. If it were not that we are mutually wretched, we might long since have become a cause of disgust to one another; what wonder is it that the fortunate also always seek those like themselves?

13 "I beseech you, let us who have long been dead to the world seek a place in which we may bury these half-consumed bodies. Welcome forsooth shall we return to the wives whom we married in our youth! Our children in the bloom both of their age and their fortunes will of course recognize as their fathers the
14 off-scourings of the slave-prison! And how many of us can traverse so many lands?[a] Far from Europe, banished to the ends of the Orient, old and weak, with the greater part of our bodies battered, can we, forsooth, endure what has wearied armed men
15 flushed with victory? What then of the wives[b] whom chance and necessity have joined to us as our sole consolation, and their little children—do we drag them with us or leave them behind? If we come with these, no one will be willing to own us;
16 shall we, then, at once abandon those dear ones[c] who are with us, when it is uncertain whether we shall ever see those whom we seek? We must remain hidden among those who have begun to know us in this wretched plight." So spoke Euctemon.

17 Theaetetus,[d] an Athenian, took up the discussion on the opposite side: "No good man," he said, "will

Neminem pium habitu corporis suos aestimaturum, utique saevitia hostis, non Natura calamitosos. Dignum esse omni malo, qui erubesceret[1] fortuito; tristem enim de mortalitate ferre sententiam et desperare misericordiam, quia ipse alteri denegaturus
18 sit. Deos quod ipsi numquam optare ausi forent offerre; patriam, coniuges, liberos, et quidquid homines vel vita aestimant vel morte redimunt.
19 Quin illi ex hoc carcere erumperent? alium domi esse caeli haustum, alium lucis aspectum. Mores, sacra, linguae commercium etiam a barbaris expeti, quae ingenita[2] ipsi omissuri sint[3] sua sponte, non ob aliud tam calamitosi, quam quod illis carere coacti
20 essent. Se certe rediturum ad penates et in patriam tantoque beneficio regis usurum; si quos contubernii liberorumque, quos servitus coëgisset agnoscere, amor detineret, relinquerent quibus nihil patria carius esset.[4]

21 Pauci huius sententiae fuere, ceteros consuetudo natura potior vicit. Consenserunt petendum esse a
22 rege, ut aliquam ipsis attribueret sedem. c ad hoc electi[5] sunt. Quos Alexander ratus quod ipse praestare cogitabat petituros: "Iumenta," inquit, "assignari quae vos veherent, et singulis vestrum milia

[1] erubesceret *Lauer;* erubescere *A.*
[2] ingenita *Freinshem;* ingentia *A.*
[3] sint *J. Froben;* sunt *A.*
[4] esset *Zumpt;* est *A.*
[5] electi *Vindelinus;* adlecti *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* ix. 3. 7; Sen. *De Ira* ii. 9. [b] *Cf.* vi. 3. 8.

[c] That is, he assumed that they would decide to return to Greece and would ask for transport and means of subsistence there; see § 24 *infra.*

judge his kin by their bodily condition, especially when the cause of their calamity has been an enemy's cruelty, not Nature. He deserves every misfortune who is ashamed of a misfortune due to chance ; for he has a sinister opinion of humanity,[a] and despairs of pity only because he himself would deny it to his
18 fellow man. The gods are offering them what they themselves would never have ventured to wish for : fatherland, wives, children, and whatever men either value at the price of life, or, if you would so put
19 it, redeem with death as the price. Why, then, do they not break out from this prison ? At home they breathe a different air, see the light of a different sun. Their own customs, sacred rites, community of language,[b] are desired even by barbarians, but these, your birthright, you yourselves would give up of your own accord, although you are so unhappy for no other reason than that you have been com-
20 pelled to live without them. For my part, I would certainly return to my household gods and to my fatherland, and would accept so great a favour from the king ; but if the love of mate and children, whom slavery has compelled you to acknowledge, should detain any of you, those at least to whom nothing is dearer than their native land should leave theirs behind."

21 A few were of this opinion ; habit, which is stronger than nature, overcame the rest. They agreed that the king should be asked to assign them some dwell-
22 ing-place. One hundred were selected to make the request. Alexander, having supposed that they would ask for what he himself was thinking of giving[c] to them, said : "I have ordered mounts to be assigned, on which you can ride, and a thousand drachmae to

denarium dari iussi. Cum redieritis in Graeciam, praestabo ne qui statum suum, si haec calamitas absit,
23 vestro credat esse meliorem." Illi obortis lacrimis terram intuebantur nec aut erigere vultus aut loqui audebant; tandem rege tristitiae causam exigente, Euctemon similia eis quae in consilio dixerat respon-
24 dit. Atque ille, non fortunae solum eorum, sed etiam paenitentiae miseritus,[1] terna milia denariorum singulis dari iussit; denae vestes adiectae sunt et armenta cum pecoribus ac frumento data, ut coli serique attributus eis ager posset.

VI. Postero die convocatos duces copiarum docet nullam infestiorem urbem Graecis esse quam regiam veterum Persidis regum; hinc illa immensa agmina infusa, hinc Dareum prius, dein Xerxem Europae impium intulisse bellum; excidio illius parentandum
2 esse maioribus. Iamque barbari deserto oppido, qua quemque metus agebat diffugerant, cum rex phalangem nihil cunctatus inducit. Multas urbes refertas opulentia regia partim expugnaverat, partim in fidem acceperat, sed urbis huius divitiae vicere praeterita.
3 In hanc totius Persidis opes congesserant barbari; aurum argentumque cumulatum erat, vestis ingens modus, supellex non ad usum, sed ad ostentationem
4 luxus comparata. Itaque inter ipsos victores ferro

[1] miseritus *Hedicke;* miseretur *A.*

[a] Diod. xvii. 69. 8 gives a more detailed and somewhat clearer account. Both a French and an English translation interpret *paenitentiae* as "resolution," for which I find no authority.

[b] The figures of Diodorus, *loc. cit.* are: of clothing five outfits for men and five for women, two yokes of oxen, fifty sheep and fifty medimni of grain; also exemption from taxation.

be given to each of you. When you have returned to Greece, I will guarantee that, except for this misfortune of yours, none will believe that his condition
23 is better than yours." They, with tears in their eyes, kept their gaze fixed upon the ground, nor dared either to lift their faces or to speak; when at last the king asked the cause of their sadness, Euctemon answered in words similar to those which he had used
24 in the council. And the king, pitying not only their fortune but their change of heart,[a] ordered 3000 drachmae to be given to each man; ten robes apiece were added, and herds and flocks and also grain were given them, in order that the land assigned to them might be cultivated and sown.[b]

VI. On the following day the king called together the leaders of his forces and informed them that "no city was more mischievous to the Greeks than the seat of the ancient kings of Persia; it was from there that those huge armies had been poured into their country, from there first Darius, then Xerxes, had made godless war upon Europe; by its destruction they ought to offer sacrifice to the spirits of their
2 forefathers." And already the barbarians, having abandoned the city, had scattered in flight whithersoever fear had driven each man, when the king without delay led in the phalanx. He had either stormed or received in surrender many cities filled with regal opulence, but the riches of this city surpassed all that
3 had gone before. Into it the barbarians had heaped the wealth of all Persia[c]; gold and silver had been amassed, a vast amount of clothing, furniture designed
4 not for use but for luxurious display. Hence the

[c] The Persian Empire at the time of Alexander's conquest is of course meant; *cf.* note on v. 2. 16.

dimicabatur ; pro hoste erat, qui pretiosiorem occupaverat praedam. Et cum omnia quae reperiebant[1] capere non possent, iam res non occupabantur, sed
5 aestimabantur. Lacerabant regias vestes, ad se quisque partem trahentes, dolabris pretiosae artis vasa caedebant, nihil neque intactum erat neque integrum ferebatur, abrupta simulacrorum membra, ut quisque[2] avellerat, trahebat.
6 Neque avaritia solum, sed etiam crudelitas in capta urbe grassata est ; auro argentoque onusti vilia captivorum corpora trucidabant, passimque obvii caedebantur, quos antea[3] pretium sui miserabilis fecerat.
7 Multi ergo hostium manus voluntaria morte occupaverunt, pretiosissima vestium induti e muris semetipsos cum coniugibus ac liberis in praeceps iacientes. Quidam ignes quod paulo post facturus hostis videbatur subiecerant aedibus, ut cum suis vivi
8 cremarentur. Tandem suos[4] rex corporibus et cultu feminarum abstinere iussit.

Ingens captivae pecuniae modus traditur, prope ut
9 fidem excedat. Ceterum aut de aliis quoque dubitabimus aut credemus[5] in huius urbis gaza fuisse c et xx milia[6] talentum. Ad quae vehenda—namque ad usus belli secum portare decreverat—iumenta et camelos et a Susis et a Babylone contrahi iussit.
10 Accessere ad hanc pecuniae summam captis Parsa-

[1] reperiebant *Novák;* recipiebant *A.*
[2] quisque *Vindelinus;* quemque *A.*
[3] antea *P;* ante *C.* [4] suos *Acidalius;* suis *A.*
[5] dubitabimus aut credemus *Acidalius;* dubitauimus aut credimus *A.* [6] milia *added by Acidalius.*

[a] *Cf.* iv. 4. 12.
[b] Here Curtius clearly distinguishes *iumenta* and *camelos*; *cf.* viii. 4. 19 and see *Amer. Jour. of Phil.* lvii. (1936), p. 138.

victors themselves fought with one another with the steel; he was regarded as a foeman who had been first to seize a more precious prize. And when they could not carry all that they found, articles were no longer seized at random, but their value was ap-
5 praised. They rent the royal robes, as each one dragged a part into his possession, they broke with mattocks vases of priceless art, nothing was left uninjured or carried off whole, each one carried the broken limbs of statues as he had torn them off.

6 And not avarice alone but cruelty also ran riot in the captured city; those who were loaded with gold and silver butchered as valueless the persons of prisoners; and in all directions people, whom previously their ransom had made it worth while to spare, were cut
7 down when they came in the enemy's way. Therefore many forestalled[a] the hands of the enemy by a voluntary death, putting on their most costly clothing and throwing themselves from the walls, along with their wives and children. Some set fire to their houses, which it seemed that the enemy would do a little later, in order to be burned alive
8 with their families. At last the king ordered his men to spare the persons and the ornaments of the women.

So vast amount of wealth is said to have been taken
9 as almost to be beyond belief. But we shall either have to feel doubtful about other particulars also, or believe that there was in this city a treasure of 120,000 talents. For transporting this—for the king had decided to take it with him for use in war—he ordered camels and other beasts of burden[b] to be brought
10 together from Susa and Babylon. There were added to this sum of money 6000 talents from the capture of

gadis sex milia talentum. Cyrus Parsagada[1] urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro praefectus eius Gobares tradidit.

11 Rex arcem Persepolis, tribus milibus Macedonum praesidio relictis, Nicarchiden tueri iubet. Tiridati quoque, qui gazam tradiderat, servatus est honos quem apud Dareum habuerat. Magnaque exercitus parte et impedimentis ibi relictis, Parmeniona
12 Craterumque praefecit. Ipse cum mille equitibus peditumque expedita manu interiorem Persidis regionem sub ipsum Vergiliarum[2] occasum[3] petiit multisque imbribus et prope intolerabili tempestate vexatus, procedere tamen quo intenderat perseverа-
13 vit. Ventum erat ad iter perpetuis obsitum nivibus, quas frigoris vis gelu adstrinxerat, locorumque squalor et solitudines inviae fatigatum militem terrebant; humanarum rerum terminos se videre credentem. Omnia vasta atque[4] sine ullo humani cultus vestigio attoniti intuebantur et antequam lux quoque et caelum ipsos deficerent reverti iubebant.

14 Rex castigare territos supersedit, ceterum ipse equo desiluit pedesque per nives et concretam glaciem ingredi coepit. Erubuerunt non sequi primum amici, deinde copiarum duces, ad ultimum milites. Primusque rex, dolabra glaciem perfringens, iter sibi fecit;

[1] Parsagada *Hedicke;* parsagadam *A* (pers- *V*).
[2] Vergiliarum] uigiliarum *P*.
[3] occasum *Hedicke, ed. min.;* sidus *ed. mai.*
[4] vasta atque *Lauer;* uasta quae *A*.

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[a] This obviously seems to be different from Persepolis and to be so taken by the best authorities; see Mützell's long note on this passage. There are various slight differences in the spelling of the name, *e.g.* Πασαργάδαι (Arr.).

[b] Of the old kingdom of Persia.

[c] The Pleiades. The date is indefinite, since the morning

Parsagada.[a] Cyrus had founded that city, which its governor Gobares surrendered to Alexander.

11 The king ordered Nicarchides to defend the citadel of Persepolis, having left as a garrison 3000 Macedonian soldiers. For Tiridates, who had handed over the treasure, the same rank was continued which he had held under Darius. Also a great part of the army and the baggage was left there, in charge of
12 Parmenion and Craterus. Alexander himself with 1000 horsemen and a light-armed force of infantry made for the interior of Persia[b] just at the setting of the Vergiliae,[c] and although troubled by frequent rains and almost intolerable weather, he nevertheless
13 persisted in pushing on to his destination. He had come to a road blocked by perpetual snows, which the violence of the cold had bound with frost, and the horror[d] of the places and the pathless solitudes terrified the wearied soldiers, who believed that they were looking upon the end of the habitable world. In amazement they beheld everything desolate and without any trace of human cultivation, and they demanded that they should turn back, before even daylight and the sky should fail them.

14 The king forbore to rebuke his frightened men, but he himself sprang down from his horse, and on foot began to advance through the snows and over the hard-frozen ice. Ashamed not to follow were at first his friends, then his officers, finally the soldiers. And the king was first to make a way for himself by breaking the ice with a mattock; the rest followed the

setting of the Pleiades took place in November, the evening setting in April. The latter is referred to. In southern latitudes the dates would be different. In Mesopotamia it rains only between December and April. [a] *Cf.* vii. 4. 27.

15 exemplum regis ceteri imitati sunt. Tandem propemodum invias silvas emensi, humani cultus rara vestigia et passim errantes pecorum greges repperere; et incolae, qui sparsis tuguriis habitabant, cum se callibus inviis saeptos esse credidissent, ut conspexere hostium agmen, interfectis qui comitari fugientes non poterant, devios montes et nivibus obsitos petive-
16 runt. Inde, per colloquia captivorum paulatim feritate mitigata, tradidere se regi. Nec in deditos gravius consultum.

17 Vastatis inde agris Persidis vicisque compluribus redactis in potestatem, ventum est in Mardorum gentem bellicosam et multum a ceteris Persis cultu vitae abhorrentem. Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque ac coniuges et liberos condunt, pecorum
18 aut ferarum carne vescuntur. Ne feminis quidem pro Naturae habitu molliora ingenia sunt; comae prominent hirtae, vestis super genua est, funda vinciunt frontem; hoc et ornamentum capitis et telum
19 est. Sed hanc quoque gentem idem Fortunae impetus domuit. Itaque tricesimo die postquam a
20 Persepoli profectus erat, eodem redit. Dona deinde amicis ceterisque pro cuiusque merito dedit. Propemodum omnia quae in ea urbe ceperat distributa.

VII. Ceterum ingentia animi bona, illam indolem qua omnes reges antecessit, illam in subeundis periculis constantiam, in rebus moliendis efficiendisque

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[a] This expedition is not mentioned by the other historians.
[b] Their exact dwelling-place is unknown. Their name is said to mean "manly" or "brave."

15 king's example. At last, after passing through almost pathless forests, they found sporadic traces of human cultivation, and flocks of sheep wandering here and there ; and the inhabitants, who dwelt in isolated huts, since they believed that they were protected by the inaccessible by-paths, as soon as they caught sight of the soldiers, killed those who were not able to accompany them in their flight and made for the
16 remote and snow-clad mountains. Then, through conversation with the prisoners they gradually became less wild, and delivered themselves up to the king. And the surrendered were not severely dealt with.
17 Then, after devastating the fields of Persia and reducing many villages into his power,[a] he came to the race of the Mardi,[b] a warlike people, differing greatly from the rest of the Persians in their manner of life. They dig caves in the mountains, in which they hide themselves with their wives and children, they feed on the flesh of their flocks and of wild
18 animals. Not even the women have gentler dispositions, as is Nature's way ; they have overhanging bushy hair, their garments do not reach their knees, they bind their brows with a sling ; this is both an
19 ornament of their heads and a weapon. But this race also the same onrush of Fortune overcame. And so, on the thirtieth day after he had set out from Per-
20 sepolis the king returned to the same place. Then he gave presents to his friends and to the rest according to each man's deserts. Almost everything which he had taken in that place was distributed among them.

VII. But Alexander's great mental endowments, that noble disposition, in which he surpassed all kings, that intrepidity in encountering dangers, his prompt-

velocitatem, in deditos fidem, in captivos clementiam, in voluptatibus permissis quoque et usitatis temperantiam haud tolerabili vini cupiditate foedavit.
2 Hoste et aemulo regni reparante cum maxime bellum, nuper subactis quos vicerat novumque imperium aspernantibus, de die inibat convivia quibus feminae intererant, non quidem quas violari nefas esset, quippe pelices licentius quam decebat cum armato vivere assuetae.
3 Ex his una, Thais, et ipsa temulenta maximam apud omnes Graecos initurum gratiam affirmat, si regiam Persarum iussisset incendi; expectare hoc
4 eos quorum urbes barbari delessent. Ebrio scorto de tanta re ferente sententiam, unus, alter, et ipsi mero onerati, assentiuntur. Rex quoque avidior vini[1] quam patientior: "Quin igitur ulciscimur
5 Graeciam et urbi faces subdimus?" Omnes incaluerant mero; itaque surgunt temulenti ad incendendam urbem cui armati pepercerant. Primus rex ignem regiae iniecit, tum convivae et ministri[2] pelicesque. Multa cedro aedificata erat regia, quae
6 celeriter igne concepto late fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul urbe tendebat, conspexit, fortuitum ratus ad opem ferendam concurrit.
7 Sed ut ad vestibulum regiae ventum est, vident

[1] vini *Cornelissen;* fuit *A.*
[2] regiae . . . ministri] *V omits.*

[a] That is, beginning early and lasting until late; on *de die*,

ness in forming and carrying out plans, his good faith towards those who submitted to him, merciful treatment of his prisoners, temperance even in lawful and usual pleasures, were sullied by an excessive love of
2 wine. At the very time when his enemy and his rival for a throne was preparing to renew the war, when those whom he had conquered were but lately subdued and were hostile to the new rule, he took part in prolonged [a] banquets at which women were present, not indeed those whom it would be a crime to violate, for harlots were accustomed to live with armed men with more licence than was fitting.
3 One of these, Thais by name, herself also drunken, declared that the king would win most favour among all the Greeks, if he should order the palace of the Persians to be set on fire; that this was expected by those whose cities the barbarians had destroyed.
4 When a drunken strumpet had given her opinion on a matter of such moment, one or two, themselves also loaded with wine, agreed. The king too, more greedy for wine than able to carry it, cried: "Why do we not, then, avenge Greece and apply torches to the city?"
5 All had become heated with wine, and so they arose when drunk to fire the city which they had spared when armed. The king was the first to throw a firebrand upon the palace, then the guests and the servants and courtesans. The palace had been built largely of cedar, which quickly took fire and spread
6 the conflagration widely. When the army, which was encamped not far from the city, saw the fire, thinking
7 it accidental, they rushed to bear aid. But when they came to the vestibule of the palace, they saw the

"in the (business) day-time," see *Class. Phil.* viii. pp. 13 ff.; x. p. 82.

regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces. Omissa igitur quam portaverant aqua ipsi[1] aridam materiem in incendium iacere coeperunt.

8 Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes antea iura petebant, patria tot regum, unicus quondam Graeciae terror, molita mille navium classem et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata est, contabulato mari molibus perfossisque montibus, in quorum specus 9 fretum immissum est. Ac ne tam longa quidem aetate quae excidium eius secuta est, resurrexit. Alias urbes vastavere[2] Macedonum reges, quas[3] nunc habent Parthi ; huius vestigium non inveniretur, nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet. Haud procul moenibus fluxerat ; inde urbem fuisse xx stadiis distantem credunt magis quam sciunt accolae.

10 Pudebat Macedones tam praeclaram urbem a comissabundo[4] rege deletam esse ; itaque res in serium versa est, et imperaverunt sibi, ut crederent 11 illo potissimum modo fuisse delendam. Ipsum, ut primum gravato[5] ebrietate mentem quies reddidit, paenituisse constat et dixisse, maiores poenas Graecis

[1] ipsi *Bentley;* igni *A*.
[2] vastavere *Eberhard;* habuere *A* (abuere *L*).
[3] quas . . . *v. 8. 1 omitted by V without vacant space.*
[4] comissabundo *Zumpt;* comesabundo *CP corr.* (comisabundo *P m. pr.*). [5] gravato *Jeep;* gravatam *A*.

[a] *Cf.* Justin xi. 14 *Persepolis, caput Persici regni* ; Diod. xvii. 70. 1 *μητρόπολιν τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας.*
[b] *Cf.* Livy xxiii. 10. 2 ; a general expression for complete subjection.
[c] A round number ; *cf.* Nepos, *Themist.* v.
[d] *Cf.* Suet. *Calig.* xix. 3.

king himself still piling on firebrands. Therefore, they left the water which they had brought, and they too began to throw dry wood upon the burning building.

8 Such was the end of the capital[a] of the entire Orient, from which so many nations previously sought jurisdiction,[b] the birthplace of so many kings, once the special terror of Greece, a city that built a fleet of a thousand[c] ships, and armies by which Europe was flooded, bridged the sea with a causeway of boards formed by massive hulks of ships,[d] tunnelled mountains,[e] and let the sea into the cavity thus
9 made. And not even in the long age which followed its destruction did it rise again.[f] The Macedonian kings laid waste other cities, which the Parthians now possess ; of this city not a trace would be found, did not the Araxes River show where it stood. That river had flowed not far from its walls ; the neighbouring peoples believe, but do not really know,[g] that the city was twenty stadia distant from it.

10 The Macedonians were ashamed that so renowned a city had been destroyed by their king in a drunken revel ; therefore the act was taken as earnest, and they forced themselves to believe[h] that it was right that it should be wiped out in exactly that manner.
11 It is certain that Alexander himself, as soon as sleep had restored his senses after he had been overcome by drunkenness, regretted what he had done and

[c] By cutting a canal through the isthmus of Mt. Athos; see Hdt. viii. 21-24.

[f] A misstatement; it appears, inhabited, in later history.

[g] This shows that in the time of Curtius the important ruins of the Palace at Persepolis were not known to the Romans.

[h] *Cf.* Ter. *Eun.* 252 (ii. 2. 21).

Persas daturos fuisse, si ipsum in solio regiaque Xerxis
12 conspicere coacti essent. Postero die Lycio, itineris quo Persidem intraverat duci, XXX talenta dono dedit.

Hinc in regionem Mediae transiit; ubi supplementum novorum e Cilicia militum occurrit. Peditum erant V milia, equites M; utrisque Platon Atheniensis praeerat. His copiis auctus, Dareum persequi statuit.

VIII. Ille iam Ecbatana pervenerat. Caput Mediae urbs haec; nunc tenent Parthi, eaque aestiva agentibus sedes est. Adire deinde Bactra decreverat, sed veritus ne celeritate Alexandri occuparetur,
2 consilium iterque mutavit. Aberat ab eo Alexander stadia MD, sed iam nullum intervallum adversus velocitatem eius satis longum videbatur; itaque
3 proelio magis quam fugae se praeparabat. XXX milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant IIII milia fide vetere[1] erga regem ad ultimum invicta.
4 Funditorum quoque et sagittariorum manus IIII milia expleverat; praeter hos III milia et CCC equites erant, maxime Bactrianorum.[2] Bessus praeerat, Bac-
5 trianae regionis praefectus. Cum hoc agmine paulum

[1] fide vetere *Hedicke;* fideliter *A*.
[2] Bactrianorum *J. Froben;* parthienorum *A* (partiorum *L m. pr.*).

said that the Greeks would have been more severely avenged upon the Persians, if these had been forced to see Alexander on the throne and in the palace
12 of Xerxes. On the following day he gave the Lycian guide of the route by which he had entered Persia a gift of 30 talents.

From there he crossed into the district of Media, where a reinforcement of fresh soldiers from Cilicia[a] met him. They consisted of 5000 foot and 1000 horse; both were commanded by Platon, an Athenian. Strengthened by these forces, he resolved to pursue Darius.

VIII. Darius had already reached Ecbatana. This city was the capital of Media; the Parthians now possess it, and it is their abode for passing the summers.[b] From there he had determined to go to Bactra,[c] but fearing lest he should be overtaken by Alexander's rapidity, he changed his plan and his
2 route. Alexander was distant from him 1500 stadia, but already no interval seemed great enough in the face of the Macedonian's swiftness; consequently Darius was preparing himself for battle rather than
3 for flight. He was followed by 30,000 infantry, among whom were 4000 Greeks, whose long fidelity
4 to the king remained invincible to the end. Also he had mustered bands of slingers and archers to the number of 4000; besides these there were 3300 horsemen, mostly Bactriani. Bessus, satrap of the
5 district of Bactra, commanded them. With this force

[a] See v. 1. 43. They must have come to Media by a less difficult route than Alexander had taken; see v. 4. 2 ff.

[b] The Parthian kings divided their residence between Ctesiphon and Ecbatana, the latter being in the mountains.

[c] Modern Balkh.

declinavit via militari, iussis praecedere lixis impedimentorumque custodibus.

6 Consilio deinde advocato: "Si cum ignavis," inquit, "et pluris[1] qualemcumque vitam quam[2] honestam mortem aestimantibus Fortuna me iunxisset,[3] tacerem potius quam frustra verba consumerem.
7 Sed maiore quam vellem documento et virtutem vestram et fidem expertus, magis etiam coniti debeo ut dignus talibus amicis sim, quam dubitare an vestri
8 similes adhuc sitis. Ex tot milibus quae sub imperio fuerunt meo bis me victum, bis fugientem persecuti estis. Fides vestra et constantia ut regem me esse
9 credam facit. Proditores et transfugae in urbibus meis regnant, non, hercule, quia tanto honore digni habentur, sed ut praemiis eorum vestri sollicitentur animi. Meam fortunam tamen quam victoris maluistis sequi, dignissimi quibus, si ego non possim, dii pro me gratiam referant. Et, mehercule, referent.
10 Nulla erit tam surda[4] posteritas, nulla tam ingrata Fama, quae non in caelum vos debitis laudibus ferat.

"Itaque etiam si consilium fugae, a qua multum abhorret animus, agitassem, vestra tamen virtute
11 fretus obviam issem hosti. Quo usque enim in regno exsulabo et per fines imperii mei fugiam externum et advenam regem, cum liceat, experto belli fortunam,

[1] pluris *I;* plurimis *P;* pluribus *C.*
[2] quam *added by Kinch.*
[3] me iunxisset *Vogel;* iunxissent *A.*
[4] surda . . . tam] *V omits.*

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[a] This led from Babylon and Susa past Ecbatana through the Caspian Gates (Arr. iii. 19. 2). A branch from Alexandria (*ad Caucasum* = at the Hindu Kush) turned off to Bactra.

[b] That is, in order that the rewards given by Alexander

he turned aside a little from the military road,[a] having ordered the camp-followers and the guards of the baggage to precede him.

6 Then, having called a council, he said: "If Fortune had joined me with cowards, and with those who regard life on any terms preferable to a noble death, I would keep silent rather than waste words
7 to no purpose. But having made trial of your valour and loyalty by a greater test than I could have wished, I ought to strive even more to be worthy of such friends, rather than to doubt whether you are still
8 like yourselves. Out of so many thousands who were under my command you have followed me, although I was twice defeated and twice put to flight. Your fidelity and constancy make me believe that I
9 am a king. Traitors and deserters rule in my cities, not, by Heaven! because they are deemed worthy of such honour, but that your minds may be tempted by their rewards.[b] In spite of this, you have preferred to follow my fortune rather than the victor's, proving yourselves most worthy of being requited by the gods in my behalf, if it should not be in my own power.
10 And, by Heaven! they will recompense you. No future generation will be so deaf, no Fame so ungrateful, as not to extol you to the skies with meed of praise.

"Therefore, even if I had considered resorting to flight, from which my mind utterly recoils, yet, relying upon your valour I should have gone to meet
11 the foe. How long, pray, shall I be an exile in my realm, and through the bounds of my empire flee before a foreign and alien king, when it is allowed me

to the traitors and deserters might tempt some of the adherents of Darius to follow their example,

aut reparare quae amisi aut honesta morte defungi ?
12 Nisi forte satius est expectare victoris arbitrium et Mazaei et Mithrenis exemplo precarium accipere regnum nationis unius, ut iam malit ille gloriae suae
13 quam irae obsequi. Nec di siverint ut hoc decus mei capitis aut demere mihi quisquam audeat[1] aut condonare, nec[2] imperium vivus amittam, idemque erit regni mei, qui spiritus, finis.
14 " Vobis[3] si hic animus, si haec lex, nulli non parta libertas est. Nemo e vobis fastidium Macedonum, nemo vultum superbum ferre cogetur ; sua cuique dextera aut ultionem tot malorum pariet aut finem.
15 Equidem quam versabilis Fortuna sit documentum ipse sum, nec immerito mitiores vices eius expecto. Sed si iusta ac pia bella di aversantur, fortibus tamen
16 viris licebit honeste mori. Per ego vos decora maiorum, qui totius Orientis regna cum memorabili laude tenuerunt, per illos viros, quibus stipendium Macedonia quondam tulit, per tot navium classes in Graeciam missas, per tot tropaea regum oro et obtestor ut nobilitate vestra gentisque dignos spiritus capiatis,
17 ut eadem constantia animorum qua praeterita tolerastis experiamini quidquid deinde Fors tulerit ; me certe in perpetuum aut victoria egregia nobilitabit aut ruina."[4]

IX. Haec dicente Dareo, praesentis periculi species

[1] audeat *added by Hedicke.* [2] nec *Meiser;* hoc *A.*
[3] Vobis *added by Hedicke.* [4] ruina *Hedicke;* pugna *A.*

[a] Referring to *precarium accipere regnum* in § 12.
[b] A weak appeal, since these mighty fleets suffered defeat.

by trying the fortune of war either to regain what I
12 have lost or to meet an honourable death? Unless haply it is better to await a victor's will and, like Mazaeus or Mithrenes, to accept on sufferance the rule of a single province, supposing that Alexander may now prefer to gratify his vanity rather than his
13 anger. But may the gods forbid that anyone should dare to take from me this adornment of my head, or to bestow it on me,[a] or that I should lose my empire while I still live, but the end of my rule shall be the same as the end of my breath.

14 "If you have this spirit and this principle, there is no one of you for whom freedom has not been won. No one of your number will be compelled to endure the disdain of the Macedonians, none their haughty looks; the right hand of each of you will either gain
15 vengeance for so many sufferings, or end them. I myself am an example of Fortune's mutability, and with good reason I look for milder changes on her part. But if the gods do not favour just and righteous wars, at any rate brave men will be allowed to die
16 with honour. By the honour of your forefathers, who held the rule of the entire Orient with noteworthy glory, by those men to whom Macedonia formerly paid tribute, by those many fleets[b] of ships sent against Greece, by those many trophies of your kings, I beg and implore you to assume the courage
17 worthy of your fame and that of your nation, in order that with the same resolute spirits with which you endured the evils of the past you may meet whatever Fortune may hereafter allot; on me at any rate either a glorious victory or my overthrow will confer eternal fame."

IX. As Darius said these words, the thought of the

omnium simul corda animosque horrore perstrinxerat, nec aut consilium suppetebat aut vox, cum Artabazus, vetustissimus amicorum, quem hospitem fuisse Philippi supra[1] diximus : " Nos vero," inquit, " pretiosissimam vestem induti armisque quanto maximo cultu possumus adornati, regem in aciem sequemur, ea quidem mente, ut victoriam speremus, mortem
2 non recusemus." Assensu excepere ceteri hanc vocem, sed Nabarzanes, qui in eodem consilio erat, cum Besso inauditi antea facinoris societate inita, regem suum per milites quibus ambo praeerant comprehendere et vincire decreverant, ea mente ut, si Alexander ipsos insecutus foret, tradito rege vivo inirent gratiam victoris, magni[2] profecto cepisse Dareum aestimaturi,[3] sin autem eum effugere potuissent, interfecto Dareo, regnum ipsi occuparent
3 bellumque renovarent. Hoc parricidium cum diu volutassent, Nabarzanes, aditum nefariae spei praeparans :

" Scio me," inquit, " sententiam esse dicturum prima specie haudquaquam auribus tuis gratam ; sed medici quoque graviores morbos asperis remediis curant, et gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, iactura
4 quidquid servari potest redimit. Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem facias suadeo, sed ut te ac regnum tuum salubri ratione conserves. Dis adversis bellum inimus, et pertinax Fortuna Persas urgere non desinit ; novis initiis et ominibus opus est. Auspicium

[1] supra *Acidalius;* saepe *A.*
[2] magni *C;* magno *P m. pr. F. corr.*
[3] aestimaturi *J. Froben;* aestimari *A.*

[a] He had not mentioned it before, but does so in vi. 5. 2 ; *cf.* Diod. xvi. 52. 3. Perhaps *saepe* should be read, which is rather an exaggeration, but not absolutely false.

present peril cramped with horror the hearts and minds of all alike, and they were in doubt what to advise or to say, when Artabazus, the oldest of his friends, who, as I have said above,[a] had been a guest of Philip, said: "We certainly, clad in our richest apparel and adorned with the finest arms that we possess, will follow our king to battle, and that too with the intention of hoping for victory, yet not shrinking from
2 death." The rest received these words with approval, but Nabarzanes, who took part in the same council, had formed with Bessus a conspiracy for a crime unheard of before, of seizing their king by means of the forces which they both commanded and putting him in fetters; their purpose was that if Alexander should overtake them, they might by delivering the king alive into his hands gain the victor's favour, since he would surely set a high value on the capture of Darius, but that, if they could escape Alexander, having killed Darius, they themselves might usurp
3 the sovereignty and renew the war. When they had long meditated this treason, Nabarzanes, preparing the way for their abominable purpose, said:

"I know that I shall express an opinion which at first thought [b] will not be at all pleasing to your ears; but physicians also cure more desperate maladies by harsh remedies, and a pilot, when he fears shipwreck,
4 rescues by jettison whatever can be saved. I, however, offer my advice, not in order that you may suffer any loss, but that by a helpful plan you may save yourself and your kingdom. We began the war with the gods against us, and persistent Fortune does not cease to persecute the Persians; there is need of a new beginning and new omens.

[b] For this meaning *cf.* ix. 8. 20; Cic. *De Fin.* xiv. 22. 61.

et imperium interim alii trade, qui tam diu rex appelletur donec Asia decedat hostis, victor deinde regnum
5 tibi reddat. Hoc autem brevi futurum ratio promittit; Bactra intacta sunt, Indi et Sacae in tua potestate, tot populi, tot exercitus, tot equitum peditumque milia ad res renovandas[1] vires paratas habent, ut maior belli moles supersit quam exhausta
6 sit. Quid ruimus beluarum ritu in perniciem non necessariam? Fortium virorum est magis mortem
7 contemnere quam odisse vitam; saepe taedio laboris ad vilitatem sui compelluntur ignavi. At nihil virtus inexpertum omittit. Utique[2] ultimum omnium mors
8 est, ad quam non pigre ire satis est. Proinde si Bactra, quod tutissimum receptaculum est, petimus, praefectum regionis eius, Bessum, regem temporis gratia constituamus; rebus[3] compositis, iusto regi tibi fiduciarium[4] restituet imperium."
9 Haud mirum est Dareum non temperasse animo, quamquam eum,[5] impiae voci quantum nefas subesset,[6] latebat. Itaque: "Pessimum," inquit, "mancipium, repperisti exoptatum tibi tempus quo
10 parricidium aperires?" strictoque acinace interfecturus eum videbatur, ni propere Bessus Bactrianique,

[1] res renovandas *Wagner-Hedicke: cf. x. 2. 9* (*where* res renouare *A*); res [illegible] *B*[illegible]: renouandas *A*.
[2] Utique *Acidalius;* itaque *A*.
[3] gratia constituamus: rebus *Prohasel;* gratiam *A*.
[4] fiduciarium *J. Froben;* fiducia *BL;* fidutia *FPV*.
[5] eum *Hedicke;* tam *A*. [6] subesset *Vogel;* esset *A*.

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[a] That is, shall be king in name only.
[b] The Persians and the Indi thus named the Turanian nomadic peoples, whom the Greeks called "Scythians."
[c] For this meaning *cf.* Livy ii. 17. 5; *moles belli* is used

Hand over the auspices and the rule for a time to another, who shall be called king[a] no longer than until the enemy shall withdraw from Asia; then he will return the sovereignty to you when he has won
5 victory. Moreover, reason shows that this will soon come to pass; Bactra is untouched, the Indi and Sacae[b] are under your rule, so many peoples, so many armies, so many thousands of horse and foot have strength available for restoring our affairs, that greater material for war[c] is left than has been used
6 up. Why do we, like brute beasts, rush into a destruction that is not necessary? It is the part of brave men rather to scorn death than to hate life;
7 often through distaste for toil cowards are driven to hold themselves cheap.[d] But valour leaves nothing untried. Assuredly death is the end of everything, and we may as well go to meet it in no passive spirit.
8 Accordingly, if we desire to go to Bactra, which is the safest place of refuge, let us make Bessus, the satrap of that region, king, because of the exigency; when affairs are settled, he will restore to you, the legitimate king, the rule which he has held in trust."[e]
9 It is not at all surprising that Darius could not control his anger, although he did not know how great a crime lurked under these detestable words. Hence he said: "Basest of slaves, have you found the time which you desired, when you might disclose your
10 treason?" and drawing his sword, he seemed to be on the point of killing Nabarzanes, had not Bessus and the Bactriani quickly surrounded the king, as if

in a different sense in Curtius iv. 8. 4; Amm. xxvi. 10. 4; and elsewhere.

[a] That is, to despair and allow themselves to be conquered: *cf.* Sen. *De Clem.* i. 3. 4.

[e] *Cf.* Livy xxxii. 38. 2.

quasi deprecarentur,[1] tristium specie, ceterum, si
11 perseveraret, vincturi circumstetissent. Nabarzanes interim elapsus, mox et Bessus est secutus[2]; copias quibus praeerant a cetero exercitu secedere iubent
12 secretum inituri consilium. Artabazus convenientem praesenti fortunae sententiam orsus, mitigare Dareum temporum identidem admonens coepit; ferret aequo animo qualiumcumque, suorum tamen vel stultitiam vel errorem. Instare iam ei[3] Alexandrum, gravem, etiam si omnes praesto essent; quid futurum, si
13 persecuti fugam ipsius alienentur? Aegre[4] paruit Artabazo et, quamquam movere castra statuerat, turbatis tamen omnium animis eodem in loco substitit. Sed attonitus maestitia simul et desperatione tabernaculo se inclusit.
14 Ergo in castris, quae nullius regebantur imperio, varii animorum motus erant, nec in commune ut ante
15 consulebatur. Dux Graecorum militum, Patron, arma capere suos iubet paratosque esse ad exsequen-
16 dum imperium. Persae secesserant; Bessus cum Bactrianis erat temptabatque Persas abducere, Bactra et intactae regionis opulenta simulque quae manentibus instarent pericula ostentans. Persarum omnium eadem fere fuit vox, nefas esse deseri regem.
17 Inter haec Artabazus omnibus imperatoris funge-

[1] quasi deprecarentur *Jeep;* depraecarentur *A.*
[2] est secutus *Hedicke;* consecutus *A.*
[3] iam ei *Hedicke;* tamen *A.*
[4] Aegre *Acidalius;* a rege ea re *A.*

[a] Paron, a Phocian, in Arr. iii. 16. 2. [b] *Cf.* iv. 6. 4.

to plead against the act, under pretence of sorrow, but actually intending to make him prisoner, if he should
11 persist. Nabarzanes meanwhile had slipped away and Bessus also followed him; they ordered the forces which they commanded to withdraw from the rest of
12 the army, intending to hold a secret council. Artabazus, starting to express an opinion suitable to the present situation, began to try to soothe Darius, from time to time reminding him of the exigencies; the king, he said, ought to bear with patience either the folly or the error of those, of whatever sort they might be, who were nevertheless his subjects. Alexander was already close upon him, a dangerous foe even if all his men were on hand; what would happen if those who had followed him in his flight
13 should be alienated? Darius followed the advice of Artabazus, albeit reluctantly, and although he had determined to move his camp, yet since the minds of all were disturbed, he remained where he was. But being overwhelmed with sadness and at the same time with despair, he shut himself in his tent.

14 The result was, that in the camp, which was under no one's command, there were varied impulses, and they no longer took council in common, as before.
15 The leader of the Greek troops, Patron,[a] ordered his men to arm themselves and be ready to carry out his
16 orders. The Persians had formed a separate group; Bessus[b] was with the Bactriani and was trying to win over the Persians, telling them of Bactra and the riches of that untouched region, and at the same time of the dangers which threatened those who remained where they were. The reply of all the Persians was about the same, that it was impious for the king to
17 be deserted. Meanwhile Artabazus performed all

batur officiis ; ille Persarum tabernacula circumire, hortari, monere nunc singulos, nunc universos non ante destitit quam satis constaret imperata facturos. Idem aegre a Dareo impetravit, ut cibum caperet animumque rebus adverteret.

X. At Bessus et Nabarzanes olim agitatum scelus exsequi statuunt, regni cupiditate accensi ; Dareo autem incolumi tantas opes sperare non poterant. 2 Quippe in illis gentibus regum eximia maiestas est ; ad nomen quoque barbari conveniunt, et pristinae 3 veneratio fortunae sequitur adversam. Inflabat impios animos regio cui praeerant, armis virisque et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda ; tertiam partem Asiae tenet, multitudo iuniorum exer- 4 citus quos amiserat Dareus aequabat. Itaque non illum modo, sed etiam Alexandrum spernebant, inde vires imperii repetituri, si regionis[1] potiri contigisset. 5 Diu omnibus cogitatis, placuit per milites Bactrianos ad omne obsequium destinatos regem comprehendere mittique nuntium ad Alexandrum, qui indicaret 6 vivum asservari eum ; si, id quod timebant, proditionem aspernatus esset, occisuri Dareum et Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petituri.

7 Ceterum propalam comprehendi Dareus non poterat, tot Persarum milibus laturis opem regi ; Grae-

[1] regionis *A, defended by Mützell;* regis *Freinshem.*

[a] An exaggeration, which is made less by the participation in the conspiracy of Barzaentes, satrap of Arachosia and Drangiana (Arr. iii. 21. 2), and by the inclusion in the realm of Bessus of the Turanian peoples (see note on v. 9. 5, above).

the duties of a commander; he did not cease to go round the tents of the Persians, to exhort them, and to warn them, now one by one, now in a body, until it was clear that they would obey his orders. He also induced Darius, though with difficulty, to take food and to turn his attention to the situation.

X. But Bessus and Nabarzanes resolved to carry out the criminal design which they had formerly agitated, being inflamed with a desire for sovereignty; but they could not hope for so great power while
2 Darius lived. For in those nations the majesty of their kings is extraordinary; in response to his mere name the barbarians assemble, and veneration for his
3 former fortune attends him even in adversity. The impious minds of the conspirators were puffed up by the province which they governed, one which in arms and men, as well as in extent of territory is second to none among those nations; it occupies a third part of Asia,[a] and the number of its men of military age
4 equalled the armies which Darius had lost. Therefore they scorned, not only Darius, but also Alexander; from there they expected to regain the power of the empire, should they succeed in getting posses-
5 sion of the province. After long deliberation on all possibilities, they decided to seize the king with the aid of the Bactrian troops, who could be counted upon for absolute obedience, and that then a message should be sent to Alexander, to make known to him
6 that Darius was being held alive in their power; if, as they feared, Alexander should have rejected their betrayal, they intended to kill Darius, and make for Bactra with the forces of their nations.

7 However, Darius could not be seized openly, when so many thousands of the Persians would bear aid to

8 corum quoque fides timebatur. Itaque, quod vi non
poterant, fraude assequi temptant; paenitentiam
secessionis simulare decreverant et excusare apud
regem consternationem suam. Interim, qui Persas
9 sollicitarent mittuntur. Hinc spe, hinc metu mili-
tares animos versant; ruinae rerum[1] subdere illos
capita, in perniciem trahi, cum Bactra pateant excep-
tura eos bonis[2] et opulentia animis quam concipere
10 non possint. Haec agitantibus Artabazus supervenit
sive regis iussu sive sua sponte affirmans mitigatum
esse Dareum et eundem illis amicitiae gradum patere
11 apud regem. Illi lacrimantes nunc purgare se, nunc
Artabazum orare ut causam ipsorum tueretur preces-
12 que perferret. Sic peracta nocte, sub lucis exortum
Bessus[3] et Nabarzanes cum Bactrianis militibus in
vestibulo praetorii aderant,[4] titulum sollemnis officii
occulto sceleri praeferentes. Dareus, signo ad eun-
13 dum dato, currum pristino more conscendit; atque
Bessus[5] ceterique parricidae procumbentes humi,
quem paulo post in vinculis habituri erant, sustinuere
venerari, lacrimas etiam paenitentiae indices pro-
fuderunt. Adeo humanis ingeniis parata simulatio
14 est. Preces deinde suppliciter admotae Dareum
natura simplicem et mitem non credere modo quae
15 affirmabant sed flere etiam coëgerunt. Ac ne tum

[1] rerum *P;* rei *C.* [2] bonis *Bentley;* donis *A.*
[3] Bessus *added in I.* [4] aderant *Gronov;* aderat *A.*
[5] atque Bessus *Hedicke* (*ed. min.*); artabazus *A;* Nabarzanes *Lauer.*

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[a] This refers to their anxiety and alarm at Darius' reaction to the proposal of Nabarzanes, which led to their withdrawal from the rest of the army; see v. 9. 11.
[b] For this meaning of *versant cf.* Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 19.
[c] *Cf.* iii. 2. 12. [d] *Cf.* iii. 2. 17.

their king; the loyalty of the Greeks also was feared.
8 Accordingly, they tried to effect through stratagem what they could not do by force; they decided to feign regret for their secession, and to excuse it to the king on the ground of their consternation.[a] Meanwhile emissaries were sent to appeal to the Persians.
9 Now by hope, now by fear they work upon [b] the feelings of the soldiers, saying that they were exposing themselves to utter ruin and were being dragged to destruction, when Bactra was open to receive them with possessions and wealth such as were beyond
10 their imagination.[c] While they were busy with these matters, Artabazus appeared, either by the order of the king or of his own accord, declaring that Darius had been appeased and that the same degree of
11 friendship with the king was open to them. They, shedding tears, now excused themselves, now begged Artabazus that he would plead their cause and
12 present their entreaties. Accordingly, when the night had been thus spent, at daybreak Bessus and Nabarzanes, with the Bactrian soldiers, came to the vestibule of the king's tent, hiding their secret crime under pretence of their customary service. Darius, having given the signal for marching, mounted his
13 chariot according to his former custom; and Bessus and the rest of the traitors, prostrating themselves on the ground, had the audacity to pretend to venerate the man whom a little later they were intending to make prisoner, and they even shed tears as indications of repentance. So ready is deceit in the human
14 heart. Then their entreaties, presented in suppliant guise, forced Darius, who was by nature trusting and mild,[d] not only to believe what they affirmed, but
15 even to weep. But not even then did the traitors

quidem cogitati sceleris paenituit, cum intuerentur qualem et regem et virum fallerent. Ille quidem securus periculi quod instabat, Alexandri manus quas solas timebat effugere properabat.

XI. Patron autem, Graecorum dux, praecipit suis ut arma, quae in sarcinis antea ferebantur, induerent 2 ad omne imperium suum parati et intenti. Ipse currum regis sequebatur, occasioni imminens alloquendi eum; quippe Bessi facinus praesenserat. Sed Bessus id ipsum metuens, custos verius quam 3 comes, a curru non recedebat. Diu ergo Patron cunctatus ac saepius sermone revocatus, inter fidem 4 timoremque haesitans, regem intuebatur. Qui ut tandem advertit oculos, Bubacen spadonem inter proximos currum sequentem percontari iubet numquid ipsi velit dicere. Patron se vero, sed remotis arbitris loqui velle cum eo respondit iussusque pro- 5 pius accedere sine interprete—nam haud rudis Graecae linguae Dareus erat—: "Rex," inquit, "ex L milibus Graecorum supersumus pauci, omnis[1] fortunae tuae comites et in hoc tuo statu eidem qui florente te fuimus quascumque terras elegeris pro patria et domesticis rebus petituri. Secundae adver- 6 saeque res tuae copulavere nos tecum. Per hanc fidem invictam oro et obtestor, in nostris castris tibi tabernaculum statue; nos corporis tui custodes esse patiaris. Omisimus Graeciam, nulla Bactra sunt

[1] omnis *Lauer;* omnes *A*.

[a] In iii. 2. 9 only 30,000 are mentioned, but that was before the battle in Cilicia; *cf.* also Pausanias viii. 52. 5.

repent of the crime which they had planned, although they saw what kind of man and king they were deceiving. He indeed, unaware of the danger which threatened him, was hastening to escape Alexander's hands, which alone he feared.

XI. But Patron, the leader of the Greeks, ordered his men to put on their arms, which before were carried with the baggage, and to be ready and on the
2 alert for every order of his. He himself was following the king's chariot, eager for a chance to speak to him; for he had a premonition of the evil design of Bessus. But Bessus, in fear of that very thing, did not move from the chariot, acting as a guard rather
3 than as a companion. Therefore Patron, after waiting for a long time and often being restrained from speaking, kept his eyes fixed upon the king, wavering
4 between loyalty and fear. When at last the king turned towards him, he ordered Bubaces, a eunuch who was following the chariot among those nearest Darius, to ask the Greek whether he wished to say anything to him. Patron replied that he did in fact wish to talk with him, but without witnesses, and when bidden to come nearer without an interpreter
5 —for Darius was not unacquainted with the Greek language—he said: "My king, out of 50,000 Greeks[a] we are the few that are left, companions of all your fortune, and in your present state unchanged from what we were in your prosperity, ready to seek, in place of our native land and our homes, whatever
6 lands you shall select. Your prosperity and adversity have linked us with you. By this invincible loyalty I beg and conjure you, pitch your tent in our camp; suffer us to be your body-guards. We have abandoned Greece, Bactra is nothing to us, all our hope is in

nobis, spes omnis in te ; utinam etiam[1] ceteris esset. Plura dici non attinet. Custodiam corporis tui externus et alienigena non deposcerem, si crederem alium posse praestare."

7 Bessus quamquam erat Graeci sermonis ignarus, tamen stimulante conscientia indicium profecto Patronem detulisse credebat ; et interpretes celato[2]
8 sermone Graeci, exempta dubitatio est. Dareus autem, quantum ex voltu concipi poterat haud sane territus, percontari Patrona causam consilii quod afferret coepit. Ille non ultra differendum ratus : " Bessus," inquit, " et Nabarzanes insidiantur tibi, in ultimo discrimine es[3] fortunae tuae et vitae, hic dies aut parricidis aut tibi futurus ultimus."

9 Et Patron quidem egregiam conservati regis
10 gloriam tulerat. Eludant fidem licet[4] quibus forte temere humana negotia volvi agique persuasum est nexuve[5] causarum latentium et multo ante destinatarum suum quemque ordinem immutabili lege per-
11 currere ; Dareus certe respondit, quamquam sibi Graecorum militum fides nota sit, numquam tamen a popularibus suis recessurum. Difficilius sibi esse

[1] etiam *Foss;* et in *A.*

[2] interpretes celato *Jeep;* interpretis relato *A; perhaps* interpretibus c. *Warmington.*

[3] es *Acidalius;* et *A.* [4] fidem licet *Jeep;* uidelicet *A.*

[5] nexuve *Jeep;* nexuque *A. The reading referred to in note* b *inserts before* nexuque *:* equidem aeterna constitutione crediderim, *giving the meaning :* "*For my part, I believe that, by an eternal decree, and a chain of hidden causes long since determined, each man runs his race under the control of an immutable law.*"

[a] It is possible to take *tulerat* as used vividly for *tulisset,* and to translate " would have gained." It seems better to take it in its literal sense ; in either case, " if Darius had taken his advice " is to be understood.

you; would that it were true also of the rest! It is needless to say more. I, a foreigner and of an alien race, should not demand the guard of your person, if I believed that another could guarantee it."

7 Although Bessus was unacquainted with the Greek language, yet, pricked by conscience, he believed that Patron had surely revealed his plot; and since the words of the Greek were concealed from interpreters,
8 any doubt was removed. Darius, however, being so far as could be inferred from his expression not at all alarmed, began to question Patron as to the reason for the advice which he brought. The Greek, thinking that there was no room for further delay, said: "Bessus and Nabarzanes are plotting against you, your fortune and your life are in extreme danger, this day will be the last for the traitors or for you."

9 And in fact Patron had gained[a] the illustrious glory
10 of saving the king. Those may scoff at my belief who haply are convinced that human affairs roll on and take place by mere chance, or that each man runs his ordered course in accordance with a combination of hidden causes determined long beforehand by an
11 immutable law[b]; at any rate,[c] Darius replied, that although the loyalty of the Greek soldiers was well known to him, yet he would never separate himself from his own countrymen; that it was more difficult

[b] This is a somewhat puzzling sentence. The older editions (Merula, Aldus, Modius) gave a different reading, which is rejected by the modern editors, and is not even mentioned by Hedicke. This older reading gives an intelligible text, but naturally a different interpretation. It is adopted and followed by all the translations with which I am acquainted, but has little authority. See crit. note 5.

[c] *Certe*: *i.e.* whichever of the two beliefs is held makes no difference; Darius' decision settled his fate.

damnare quam decipi. Quidquid Fors tulisset, inter suos perpeti malle quam transfugam fieri. Sero se
12 perire, si salvum sese[1] milites sui nollent. Patron desperata regis salute, ad eos quibus praeerat rediit, omnia pro fide experiri paratus.

XII. At Bessus occidendi protinus regis impetum ceperat; sed veritus ne gratiam Alexandri, nisi vivum eum tradidisset, inire non posset, dilato in proximam noctem sceleris consilio, agere gratias incipit, quod perfidi hominis insidias, iam Alexandri
2 opes spectantis, prudenter cauteque vitasset; donum eum hosti laturum fuisse regis caput. Nec mirari hominem mercede conductum omnia habere venalia; sine pignore, sine lare, terrarum orbis exsulem, ancipitem hostem ad nutum licentium circumferri.
3 Purganti[a] deinde se deosque patrios testes fidei suae invocanti Dareus vultu assentiebatur, haud dubius quin vera deferrentur a Graecis; sed eo rerum ventum erat, ut tam periculosum esset non credere suis
4 quam decipi. XXX milia erant quorum inclinata in scelus levitas timebatur, IIII milia Patron habebat; quibus si credidisset salutem suam, damnata popularium fide, parricidio excusationem videbat offerri.
5 Itaque praeoptabat immerito quam iure violari.

[a] Purganti *J. Froben;* arguenti *A.*

[a] For this meaning of *purganti* cf. *facinus purgare*, vii. 5. 39, and § 5, below.

for him to condemn than to be deceived. Whatever Fortune should offer him he preferred to endure among his own subjects rather than to become a deserter. He was perishing too late, if his own
12 soldiers did not wish him to be saved. Patron, despairing of the king's safety, returned to those whom he commanded, prepared to submit to every possible trial to the best of his loyalty.

XII. But Bessus had been seized with a strong impulse to kill Darius at once; fearing, however, that he could not find favour with Alexander unless he should deliver the king alive, putting off his wicked design to the following night, he began to give thanks because Darius had wisely and cautiously avoided the plot of a treacherous man, who already had an eye to
2 the riches of Alexander; that he would have offered his king's life as a gift to the enemy. And it was not surprising, he said, that a man hired for a fee made everything a matter of traffic; that being without wife or child, without a home, banished from the whole world, he was a treacherous enemy who like a lot is tossed round the sale-room at the nod of bidders.
3 Then, as Bessus asserted his innocence [a] and called upon his country's gods as witnesses to his loyalty, Darius assumed an expression of assent, although he had no doubt that the report of the Greeks was true; but the situation had reached such a pass that it was as dangerous not to believe his subjects as to
4 be deceived. Those were 30,000 in number whose untrustworthiness and inclination to crime were feared, Patron had only 4000; if he should trust his safety to the latter, distrusting the loyalty of his countrymen, he saw that he was offering an
5 excuse for treason. Therefore he preferred to be

Besso tamen insidiarum consilium purganti respondit, Alexandri sibi non minus iustitiam quam virtutem esse perspectam. Falli eos qui proditionis ab eo praemium expectent ; violatae fidei neminem acriorem fore vindicem ultoremque.

6 Iamque nox appetebat, cum Persae, more solito armis positis, ad necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrunt. At Bactriani, ut imperatum a Besso
7 erat, armati stabant. Inter haec Dareus Artabazum acciri iubet, expositisque quae Patron detulerat, haud dubitare Artabazus quin transeundum esset in castra Graecorum ; Persas quoque periculo vulgato secu-
8 turos. Destinatus sorti suae et iam nullius salubris consilii patiens, unicam in illa fortuna opem, Artabazum, ultimum illud[1] visurus, amplectitur perfususque mutuis lacrimis inhaerentem sibi avelli iubet ; capite deinde velato, ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo intueretur, in humum pronum corpus abiècit.
9 Tum vero custodiae eius assueti, quos regis salutem vel periculis vitae tueri oportebat, dilapsi sunt, clam[2] armatis, quos iam adventare credebant, haud rati se futuros pares. Ingens ergo in tabernaculo solitudo erat, paucis spadonibus, quia quo discederent non

[1] illud *Bentley;* illum *A.* [2] clam *Hedicke;* tum *A.*

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[a] *Cf. purganti*, v. 11. 3, above.
[b] *Cf.* v. 13. 6.
[c] For *ultimum illud cf.* x. 5. 3; Livy i. 29. 3 ; and somewhat similarly, *hoc tertium*, iv. 11. 2.

injured undeservedly rather than with justification. Nevertheless, he replied to Bessus, when he denied [a] any treacherous design, that Alexander's justice was not less clear to him than his valour. That those deceived themselves who looked for a reward for treachery from him ; that no one would be a severer chastiser and avenger of violated loyalty.

6 And now night was approaching, when the Persians after their usual custom laid aside their arms and hastened to bring supplies from the nearest village.[b] But the Bactriani, as Bessus had commanded, re-
7 mained under arms. Meanwhile Darius ordered Artabazus to be summoned, and when what Patron had reported had been revealed, Artabazus had no doubt that the king ought to cross over to the Greeks' camp ; that the Persians also, when the
8 danger was made known, would follow him. But Darius, unable to escape his destiny and no longer receptive of any wholesome advice, embraced Artabazus, his sole consolation in his present fortune, whom he was about to see for that last time,[c] and, bathed in his own tears and those of his friend, when Artabazus clung to him, ordered that he be pulled away ; then, veiling his head, in order not to see Artabazus going away amid lamentations, as if from his funeral pyre, he threw himself prone upon the
9 ground. Then indeed the men accustomed to form his body-guard, who ought to have protected the king's safety even at the peril of their lives, slipped away, thinking that they would be no match for those who had secretly armed themselves, and whom they believed to be already approaching. Hence there was a vast solitude in the tent except for a few eunuchs who stood around the king because they

habebant, circumstantibus regem. At ille remotis arbitris diu aliud atque aliud consilium animo volutabat.

Iamque solitudinem quam paulo ante pro solacio petiverat perosus, Bubacen vocari iubet. Quem intuens : " Ite," inquit, " consulite vobis, ad ultimum regi vestro, ut decebat, fide exhibita ; ego hic legem fati mei exspecto. Forsitan mireris quod vitam non finiam ; alieno scelere quam meo mori malo." Post hanc vocem spado gemitu non tabernaculum modo, sed etiam castra complevit. Irrupere deinde alii, laceratisque vestibus, lugubri et barbaro ululatu regem deplorare coeperunt. Persae, ad illos clamore perlato, attoniti metu nec arma capere, ne in Bactrianos inciderent, nec quiescere audebant, ne impie deserere regem viderentur. Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce ac sine imperio totis castris referebatur. Besso et Nabarzani[1] nuntiaverant sui regem a semetipso interemptum esse—planctus eos decepe-rat— ; itaque citatis equis advolant, sequentibus quos ad ministerium sceleris delegerant, et, cum tabernaculum intrassent, quia regem vivere spadones indicabant comprehendi vincirique iusserunt. Rex curru paulo ante vectus et deorum auspiciis ac summis[2] honoribus cultus, nulla externa ope admota, captivus servorum suorum in sordidum vehiculum pellibus

[1] Nabarzani *Lauer;* nabarzano *A.*
[2] ac summis *Cunze;* ac suis *C;* a suis *P.*

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[a] A Roman would have seen nothing discreditable in suicide under such circumstances, but Darius often showed cowardice in emergencies.
[b] *Cf.* x. 1. 2 ; Livy ii. 5. 5.
[c] *Cf.* Livy xliv. 7. 11 *nulla ope hostis.*

had no place to which to withdraw. But Darius, dismissing all witnesses, for a long time turned over in his mind one plan after another.

And now, detesting the loneliness which shortly before he had sought as a solace, he ordered Bubaces to be called. Fixing his eyes upon him, the king said: "Go, and look out for your own safety, having shown to the end, as was your duty, fidelity to your king; I shall await here the decree of my destiny. You wonder perhaps that I do not put an end to my life; I prefer to die by another's crime rather than by my own."[a] After these words the eunuch filled with his wailing not only the tent but even the whole camp. Then others burst in and, rending their clothes, began to lament the king with mournful and barbaric outcry. The Persians, when the clamour reached their ears, stunned with fear, did not dare either to arm themselves, for fear of falling in with the Bactriani, or to remain quiet, lest they should seem impiously to desert their king. Varied and discordant shouting without a leader and at no one's order was heard throughout the whole camp. To Bessus and Nabarzanes their men reported that the king had killed himself—the wailing had misled them—and so they rode to the spot at full speed, followed by those whom they had chosen to perpetrate[b] their crime; and when they entered the tent, because the eunuchs made known to them that the king still lived they ordered him to be seized and bound. That king who shortly before had ridden in a chariot and had been revered with divine authority as well as his royal honours, through the influence of no foreign power,[c] but the prisoner of his own slaves, was placed in a sorry cart covered

17 undique contectum[1] imponitur. Pecunia regis et supellex quasi belli iure diripitur, onustique praeda per scelus ultimum parta fugam intendunt.

18 Artabazus, cum eis qui imperio parebant, Graecisque militibus, Parthienen petebat omnia tutiora
19 parricidarum comitatu[2] ratus. Persae promissis Bessi onerati, maxime quia nemo alius erat quem sequerentur, coniunxere se Bactrianis, agmen eorum
20 tertio assecuti die. Ne tamen honos regi non haberetur, aureis compedibus Dareum vinciunt, nova ludibria subinde excogitante Fortuna. Et ne forte cultu regio posset agnosci, sordidis pellibus vehiculum intexerant, ignoti iumenta agebant ; ne percontantibus in agmine monstrari posset, custodes procul sequebantur.

XIII. Alexander audito Dareum movisse ab Ecbatanis, omisso itinere, quod petebat, in Mediam,
2 fugientem insequi pergit strenue. Tabas—oppidum est in Paraetacene[3] ultima—pervenit ; ibi transfugae nuntiant praecipiti fuga Bactra petere Dareum.
3 Certiora deinde cognoscit ex Bagistane Babylonio, qui nondum[4] vinctum regem, sed in periculo esse aut
4 mortis aut vinculorum affirmabat. Rex, ducibus

[1] contectum *Lauer;* contectus *A.*
[2] comitatu *Hedicke;* contuitu *P;* contuitum *C.*
[3] Paraetacene *Cospus;* partelacene *C;* parte lacae nae *P.*
[4] nondum *Hedicke;* equidem *A.*

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[a] See Arr. iii. 19. 5: 7000 talents brought from Media.

[b] *Cf.* Hdt. iii. 130 ; Amm. xxvii. 12. 3. The subject of *vinciunt* is, of course, not *Persae*, as the connexion might suggest, but *Bactriani*, or better, *Bessus et Nabarzanes*. This is clearly shown by the following *ludibria*, and by Justin xi. 5 *a cognatis suis . . . vincitur*. Logically, the sentence should follow § 16 or 17.

17 all over with hides. The king's money[a] and equipment, as if by the laws of war, was rifled; and laden with booty, acquired by the worst of crimes, the traitors hastened to flee.

18 Artabazus with those under his command and with the Greek soldiers made for Parthienê, thinking any-
19 thing safer than a retinue of traitors. The Persians, who had been loaded with promises by Bessus, joined themselves with the Bactriani, especially because there was no one else to follow, having over-
20 taken their army two days later. Nevertheless, that some honour might be paid to the king, they bound Darius in fetters of gold,[b] for Fortune constantly devised new mockeries for the luckless king. Also, lest haply he could be recognized by his regal apparel, they had covered the cart with dirty hides, and unknown persons drove the beasts[c]; in order that he could not be pointed out to any who questioned them on the way, guards followed at a distance.

XIII. Alexander, when he heard[d] that Darius had moved from Ecbatana, abandoning the journey he was seeking to make into Media, quickly proceeded to
2 follow after the fleeing king. He came to Tabae—it is a town in the farthest part of Paraetacenê—; there deserters reported that Darius in headlong flight was
3 on his way to Bactra. Then he had more definite news from Bagistanes, a Babylonian, who declared that Darius was not yet a prisoner, but that he was
4 in danger either of death or of fetters. Alexander,

[a] *iumenta* may mean mules, but since the traitors were in haste, it seems more probable that horses were used, as the translators generally say.

[d] This neuter, or "impersonal" abl. abs. is frequent in Livy and Tacitus.

convocatis : " Maximum," inquit, " opus, sed labor brevissimus superest. Dareus haud procul, destitutus a suis aut oppressus ; in illo corpore posita est nostra victoria, et tanta res celeritatis est praemium."
5 Omnes pariter conclamant paratos ipsos sequi ; nec labori nec periculo parceret. Igitur raptim agmen cursus magis quam itineris modo ducit, ne nocturna quidem quiete diurnum laborem relaxante.
6 Itaque D stadia processit, perventumque erat in
7 vicum in quo Dareum Bessus comprehenderat. Ibi Melon, Darei interpres, excipitur ; corpore aeger non potuerat agmen assequi et deprehensus celeritate regis transfugam se esse simulabat. Ex hoc acta
8 cognoscit. Sed fatigatis necessaria quies erat ; itaque delectis equitum VI milibus CCC, quos dimachas[1] appellabant, adiungit. Dorso hi graviora arma portabant, ceterum equis vehebantur ; cum res locusque posceret, pedestris acies erant.[2]
9 Haec agentem Alexandrum adeunt Orsines[3] et Mithracenes ; Bessi parricidium exosi transfugerant nuntiabantque stadia D abesse Persas, ipsos brevius
10 iter monstraturos. Gratus regi adventus transfugarum fuit. Itaque prima vespera, ducibus eisdem, cum expedita equitum manu monstratam viam in-

[1] dimachas *Glareanus;* dimichas *A.*
[2] erant *Bentley;* erat *A.* [3] Orsines *Hedicke;* orsilos *A.*

[a] That is, on the recovery of the king alive ; for this sense of *corpore cf.* iv. 11. 6.
[b] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 21. 9 δρόμῳ ἠγεῖτο. [c] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 21. 3.
[d] *Cf.* v. 12. 6. According to Justin xi. 5, it was Thara, in Parthia ; but the identification is uncertain.
[e] A combination of foot and heavily armed cavalry, also

having called together his generals, said: "A very great task is left us, but the labour will be very short. Darius is not far away, deserted by his own troops or overwhelmed; on that body of his[a] depends our
5 victory, and so great a prize is the reward of speed." All alike shout that they are ready to follow; let him spare neither toil nor danger. Therefore Alexander hurriedly leads on his army, rather as if racing[b] than as marching, not resting even by night to relax the
6 day's toil.[c] And in this way he advanced for 500 stadia, and had arrived at the village[d] in which Bessus
7 had seized Darius. There Melon, Darius' interpreter, was captured; being ailing in body, he had been unable to keep up with the army, and when caught by Alexander's swiftness he pretended to be a deserter. From him Alexander learned what had
8 been done. But rest was necessary for his wearied men; therefore to 6000 elite horsemen he added 300 of the troops called *dimachae*.[e] These carried heavier armour on their backs, but rode on horses; when the occasion and the situation demanded, they fought on foot.

9 While Alexander was thus occupied, Orsines and Mithracenes came to him; since they detested the treason of Bessus, they had deserted and now reported that the Persians were 500 stadia distant, that they
10 would show him a shorter route. The king was gratified by the coming of the deserters. Accordingly, at the beginning of evening under their guidance he set out with a light-armed troop of horsemen on the road which they had pointed out, having ordered the

called ἄμιπποι; Hesych. 1, p. 997; Pollux, *Onomast.* i. 10 describes them more fully, and says that they were an invention of Alexander (Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ εὕρημα).

greditur, phalange quantum festinare posset sequi iussa. Ipse, quadrato agmine incedens, ita cursum
11 regebat ut primi coniungi ultimis possent. ccc stadia processerant, cum occurrit Brochubelus, Mazaei filius, Syriae quondam praetor; is quoque transfuga nuntiabat Bessum haud amplius quam cc stadia abesse, exercitum, utpote praedae avidum,[1] incompositum inordinatumque procedere. Hyrcaniam videri petituros; si festinaret sequi palantes, superventurum.
12 Dareum adhuc vivere. Strenuo alioqui cupiditatem consequendi transfuga iniecerat; itaque calcaribus subditis effuso cursu eunt.
13 Iamque fremitus hostium iter ingredientium exaudiebatur, sed prospectum ademerat pulveris nubes. Paulisper ergo inhibuit cursum, donec consideret pulvis. Iamque conspecti a barbaris erant et abeuntium agmen conspexerant nequaquam futuri pares, si Besso tantum animi fuisset ad proelium, quantum ad parricidium fuerat. Namque et numero barbari praestabant et robore; ad hoc refecti cum fatigatis
14 certamen inituri erant. Sed nomen Alexandri et fama, maximum in bello utique momentum, pavidos
15 in fugam avertit. Bessus vero et ceteri facinoris eius participes, vehiculum Darei assecuti, coeperunt hortari eum conscenderet equum et se hosti fuga eriperet.
16 Ille deos ultores adesse testatur et Alexandri fidem

[1] praedae avidum *Hedicke;* praecaueret *A*.

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[a] See v. 1. 19, note *a*.

[b] That is, in order to leave none of his men behind.

[c] The name, which appears in various spellings, seems to be corrupt; Arr. iii. 21. 1 names Antibelus as one of the sons of Mazaeus. It is possible that *et Antibelus* has dropped out of the manuscripts.

phalanx to follow with all possible speed. He himself, advancing in order of battle,[a] so regulated his speed that the foremost should not become separated from
11 the hindermost.[b] He had gone on for 300 stadia, when Brochubelus,[c] son of Mazaeus, formerly satrap of Syria, met him; he also was a deserter and reported that Bessus was not more than 200 stadia distant, and that his army, being greedy for plunder, was marching in confusion and disorder. That they seemed to be about to make for Hyrcania; if Alexander should hasten to follow them while straggling, he would surprise them. Darius, he said, was still
12 alive. Alexander was a man of swift action at other times also, and now the deserter had inspired him with eagerness to overtake the king; and so, plying the spurs, they went on at top speed.
13 And already the noise of the enemy as they marched was plainly heard, but a cloud of dust had hidden them from sight. Therefore Alexander checked his advance for a while, waiting for the dust to settle. And now they had been seen by the barbarians and had caught sight of their retreating army, for which they would by no means have been a match if Bessus had had as much spirit for fighting as he had had for treason. For the barbarians were superior both in number and in strength; and besides their fresh soldiers would have entered battle with
14 wearied men. But the name of Alexander and his fame, of especially great import in war, so terrified
15 them that they turned to flight. Bessus indeed and the other accomplices in his crime, coming up to the cart in which Darius was, began to urge the king to mount a horse and rescue himself from
16 the enemy by flight. Darius declared that the aveng-

implorans negat se parricidas velle comitari. Tum vero ira quoque accensi, tela coiciunt in regem multis-
17 que confossum vulneribus relinquunt. Iumenta quoque, ne longius prosequi possent, convulnerant duobus servis, qui regem comitabantur, occisis.
18 Hoc edito facinore, ut vestigia fugae spargerent, Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra paucis equitum comitantibus petebant. Barbari ducibus destituti, qua quemque aut spes ducebat aut pavor, dissipabantur ; D tantum equites congregaverant se,
19 incerti adhuc resistere melius esset an fugere. Alexander hostium trepidatione comperta Nicanorem cum equitum parte ad inhibendam fugam emittit, ipse cum ceteris sequitur. Tria ferme milia resistentia occisa sunt, reliquum agmen pecudum more intactum agebatur, iubente rege, ut caedibus absti-
20 neretur. Nemo captivorum erat qui monstrare Darei vehiculum posset ; singula,[1] ut quaeque prenderent, scrutabantur, nec tamen ullum vestigium fugae regis
21 exstabat. Festinantem Alexandrum vix III milia equitum persecuta sunt. At in eos qui lentius seque-
22 bantur incidebant universa fugientium agmina. Vix credibile dictu, plures captivi quam qui caperent erant ; adeo omnem sensum territis Fortuna penitus

[1] singula *Vogel;* singuli *A.*

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[a] Those which drew the cart containing Darius. See v. 12. 20, note *c*.

ing gods were at hand, and imploring Alexander's protection, said that he had no desire to accompany traitors. Then truly, inflamed also by wrath, they hurled javelins at the king and left him pierced
17 through by many wounds. They also maimed the beasts,[a] to prevent them from being able to go farther, and killed the two slaves who accompanied the king.
18 Having committed this crime, in order to spread in different directions the traces of their flight, Nabarzanes made for Hyrcania, Bessus for Bactra, accompanied by a few horsemen.[b] The barbarians, bereft of their leaders, were scattered in whatever direction hope or fear led each man; only 500 horse were massed together, uncertain as yet whether it
19 would be better to resist or to flee. Alexander, informed of the consternation of the enemy, sent Nicanor on with a part of the cavalry to prevent their flight and himself followed with the rest. Nearly 3000 who resisted were slain, the rest of the troop were driven along like so many cattle, uninjured, since the
20 king gave orders that none should be killed. There was no one among the prisoners who could give information about the cart carrying Darius; each wagon, as they took it, was searched, but yet no trace
21 of the king's flight appeared. Barely 3000 of the horsemen kept up with Alexander in his haste. But into the hands of those who were following more
22 slowly whole companies of the fugitives fell. Almost incredible to relate, the prisoners were more numerous than men who captured them; to such a degree had Fortune deprived the panic-stricken barbarians

[b] 600, according to Arr. iii. 21. 10.

excusserat, ut nec hostium paucitatem nec multitudinem suam satis cernerent.

23 Interim iumenta quae Dareum vehebant, nullo regente, decesserant militari via et errore delata per quattuor stadia in quadam valle constiterant, aestu
24 simulque vulneribus fatigata. Haud procul erat fons ; ad quem, monstratum a peritis, Polystratus Macedo siti maceratus accessit ac, dum galea haustam aquam sorbet, tela iumentorum deficientium corpori-
25 bus infixa conspexit. Miratusque, confossa potius quam abacta esse, semivivi hominis[1] *gemitum percipit. Itaque more ingenii humani cupidus visendi quid rei vehiculo isto conderetur, dimotis pellibus quibus obtectum erat, Dareum multis vulneribus confossum repperit. Regius enim cultus et aureae catenae, quibus a parricidis vinctus erat, dubitationem eximebant. Non erat expers Graeci sermonis Dareus gratiasque agebat dis, qui post tanta mala hoc tamen indulsissent solacii, ne omnino in solitudine extremum spiritum effunderet.*

" *Itaque te,*" *inquit,* " *quisquis es mortalium, per communem hominum sortem, a qua ne maximos quidem reges exemptos esse praesenti spectaculo moneris, rogo quaesoque ut haec ad Alexandrum mandata perferas : nihil eorum quae longe tristissima perpessus sum, ne hunc quidem incredibilis calamitatis exitum, tam gravem mihi*

[1] semivivi ho(minis) *I;* semiuiuiho *P;* semiuiui *C.*
The following words, as far as vi. 1. 1 are lacking in A. The text gives the addition of Freinshem, with several changes in wording by Hedicke, and in punctuation by the translator. In FP several lines are left vacant ; in BLV there is no vacant space, but a corrector has added hinc deest, *or* hinc desunt plura (*B*).

of all sense, that they were unable to comprehend properly either the small number of their foes or their own great multitude.

23 Meanwhile the beasts which drew the cart in which Darius was, since no one guided them, had left the military road and after straying for four stadia had stopped in a valley, worn out by the heat and at the
24 same time by their wounds. Not far off there was a spring; to this, pointed out by those who knew the country, Polystratus,[a] a Macedonian, worn out by thirst, came and, while he was drinking water out of his helmet, he caught sight of the javelins planted in
25 the bodies of the dying beasts. And as he wondered that they had been stabbed, rather than carried off, he heard the groan of a man near death. *Therefore, as is the way of human nature, being desirous of seeing what was hidden in that cart, he drew aside the hides with which it had been covered and found Darius, run through by many wounds. For his regal attire and the golden fetters with which he had been bound by the traitors left no room for doubt. Darius, who was not unacquainted with the Greek language, gave thanks to the gods, who after so many misfortunes had yet vouchsafed him this much solace, that he should not pour out his last breath in complete solitude.*

"Therefore," said he, "whoever of mortals you are, by the common lot of mankind, from which you are reminded by the sight before your eyes that not even the greatest kings are exempt, I beg and beseech you to take this message to Alexander; that none of those misfortunes, by far the most grievous, which I have suffered, not even this outcome of incredible disaster, has fallen upon me so

[a] See Justin xi. 15; the same name is given by Plut. *Alex.* xliii. 2.

accidisse quam illud, quod post tanta in me meosque merita adversus clementissimum victorem inimico vivendum fuit et nunc ingrato moriendum est. Sed—si qua extremis miserorum votis apud deos vis est, et cum ipso spiritu profusas preces aliquod numen exaudit—ille quidem sospes et incolumis, longeque supra sortem fortunae meae et invidiam deorum positus, in solio Cyri gloriosam aetatem exigat, suaeque virtutis memor, eum matri liberisque meis locum apud se esse patiatur quem illi fide et obsequio meruerint. At parricidas promptum exitium consequatur, quod Alexander irrogabit, si non misericordia infelicis hostis, saltem odio facinorum, et ne impunita in aliorum etiam regum suumque ipsius exitium erumpant."

Post haec, cum siti angeretur, allata per Polystratum aqua recreatus : "*Ergo,*" *inquit,* "*hanc etiam tantis calamitatibus extremam accedere oportuit, ut bene merito gratiam referre non possim ; at tibi referet Alexander, Alexandro vero di.*" *Dextram deinde protendit eamque Alexandro fidei regiae pignus ferri iubens, apprehensa Polystrati manu animam efflavit. Alexander num spiranti adhuc supervenerit, incertum est : illud constat, miserabili regis opulentissimi exitu comperto, plurimas lacrimas profudisse statimque chlamyde sibi detracta corpus operuisse et magno cum honore ad suos deferri iussisse, ut regio Persarum more curatum, monumentis maiorum inferretur. Perfidiam hominum, a quibus pro summis beneficiis crudelissimum exitium Dareus pertulit, quamquam suapte*

[a] This sentence, which in the original reads somewhat grotesquely, obviously means that Polystratus, when he delivered the message to Alexander, was to grasp the king's hand as if it were that of Darius.

much to my regret as this, that after your great services to me and mine I was forced to live in enmity with a most merciful victor, and now to die without thanking him. But —if with the gods the last wishes of the wretched have any power, and if any divinity listens to prayers poured out with the very breath of life—may Alexander, safe and unharmed, and raised far above the lot of my fortune and the envy of the gods, on the throne of Cyrus complete a glorious life, and mindful of his own virtue, may he allow my mother and my children to have that place in his regard which they have deserved because of their loyalty and their respect. But may a speedy death overtake the murderers, which Alexander will inflict upon them, if not from pity for an unhappy enemy, at least from hatred of their crimes, and for fear that, if these go unpunished, they may break out to the destruction also of other kings and even to his own."

After these words, being tormented by thirst and being refreshed with water brought him by Polystratus, Darius said: "So, then, this final calamity was fated to be added also to such great misfortunes, that I cannot requite one who has well deserved it; but Alexander will requite you, the gods Alexander." Then he stretched out his right hand and ordered it to be transferred to Alexander [a] *as a pledge of the king's faith, and grasping the hand of Polystratus he gave up the ghost. Whether Alexander arrived while Darius was still breathing is uncertain; this much is sure, that on learning of the wretched end of a most powerful king, he shed many tears, and at once taking off his cloak, he covered the body, and ordered it to be taken with great honour to his family, in order to be embalmed after the fashion of the Persian kings, and placed among the tombs of his predecessors. The treachery of the men at whose hands Darius suffered a most cruel death in*

natura horrendam et execrabilem, insigniore ad posteritatem infamia notavit canis cuiusdam mira fides, qui ab omnibus familiaribus destituto solus adfuit et eandem quam vivo adulationem morienti praestitit.

Hunc vitae finem sortitus est ille quem modo contumelia affici putabant, nisi regem regum et deorum consanguineum salutarent; magnoque denuo experimento comprobatum est neminem magis patere Fortunae quam qui, plurimis eius beneficiis ornatus, iugum eius tota cervice receperit.

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[a] See Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* vi. 25.

return for the greatest favours, although in its own nature horrifying and execrable, was marked with greater infamy for future generations by the wonderful faithfulness of a dog, which alone was with Darius when he was deserted by all his friends, and fawned upon him when he was dying as it had when he was alive.[a]

Such was the end of life allotted to that king whom shortly before men thought to be insulted unless they addressed him as king of kings and kinsman of the gods; and once more it was proved by a striking example, that no one is more exposed to Fortune's changes than one who, having been honoured by very many of her favours, has bowed his neck wholly under her yoke.

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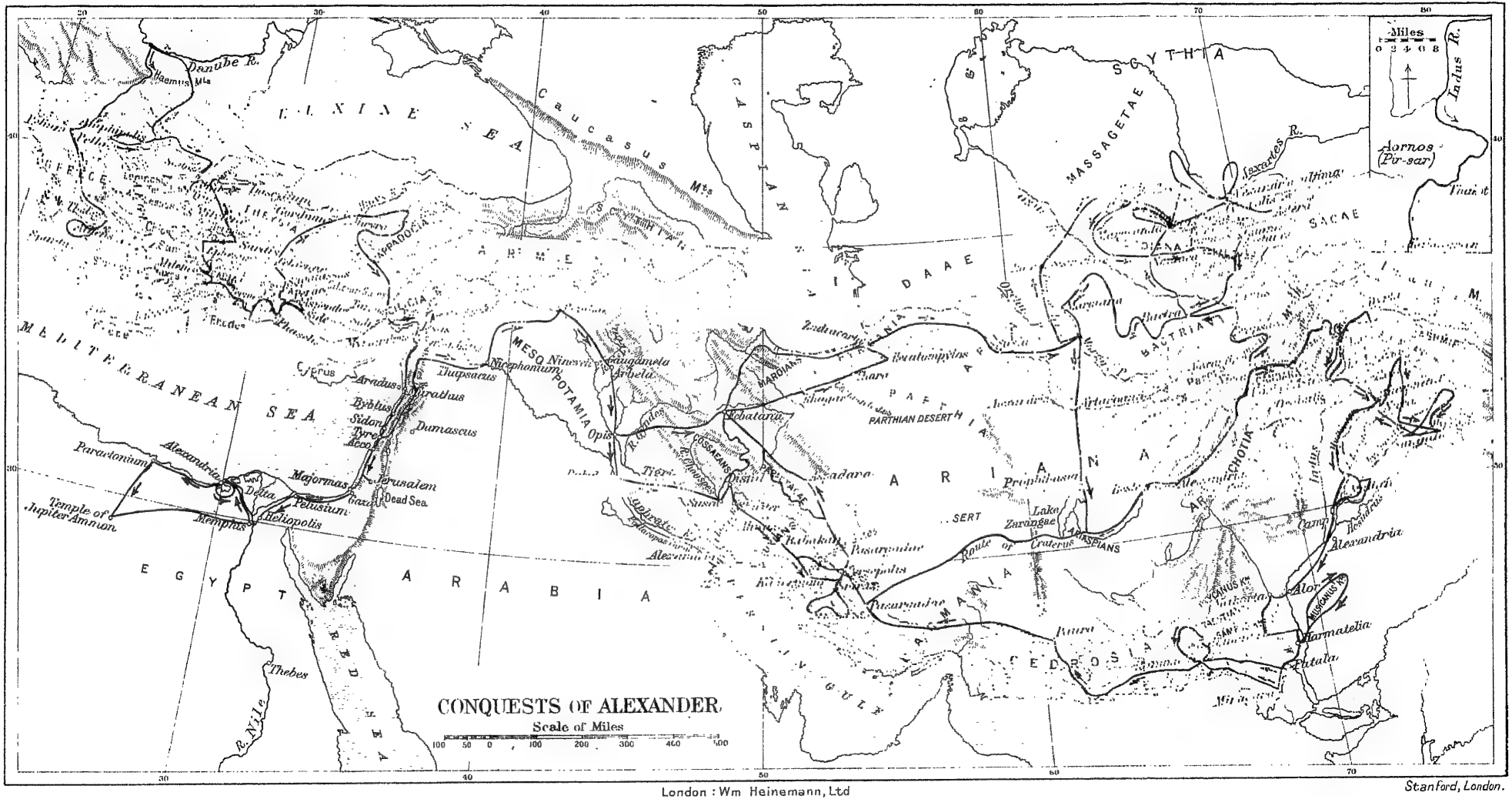
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100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
Miles
0 2 4 6 8
Jaxartes R.
Iaxartes (Syr-dar)
Indus R.
Danube R.
Haemus Mts
Caucasus Mts
EUXINE SEA
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MASSAGETAE
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